

J. Numis Soc. India

Vol. 43 1981

Pt 1

**G. K. U.
Hardwar**





110117

THE JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

Volume XLIII

1981

Part I

Pentad Centre

56
प्राप्त दिनांक 19-2-83

27
अप्रै



उत्तराखण्ड
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

Chief Editor

LALLANJI GOPAL

Editors

T. P. VERMA

B. CHATTERJEE

O. P. SINGH

Vol

THE JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

Vol. XLIII

1981

Part I

Chief Editor

LALLANJI GOPAL

Editors

T. P. VERMA

O. P. SINGH

B. CHATTERJEE

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

VARANASI—221 005

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA
B. H. U., VARANASI-221 005, U. P., INDIA

"The publication of this Journal was financially supported by the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi.

The responsibility for the facts stated, opinions expressed or conclusions reached is entirely that of the Contributors and the Indian Council of Historical Research accepts no responsibility for them".

Printed at
THE TARA PRINTING WORKS, VARANASI

JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

Vol. XLIII

[1981]

Part I

1. Semantic Study of Numismatic Terms
V. S. Pathak 1
2. Bhelavar Hoard of Silver Punch-Marked Coins
Sarjug Prasad Singh 19
3. On new Hoards of Silver Punch-Marked Coins from Orissa
S. Tripathy 35
4. Gold Coin from Tillya-Teppe (Afghanistan)
B. N. Mukherjee 41
5. The Portrait Coins of the Sātavāhana Kings
R. S. Morwanchikar 46
6. New Discoveries in the Sātavāhanan Coinage
Shobhana Gokhale 54
7. Meaning of the Symbols on Early Indian Coinage
Bhaskar Chatterjee 60
8. Numismatic Evidence on the Extension of Sātavāhana Rule in Central India
K. D. Bajpai 63
9. A Note on the Rhinoceros Type Coin of Kumāragupta I
Y. B. Singh 67
10. The Place of Kācha in Gupta Chronology
Ashvini Agrawal 71
11. Religion as Reflected on the Post-Gupta Coins from Bengal
Pranabananda Jash 75
12. Some Observations on the So-Called Jaina Coins
Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari & Chandra Deo Singh 81

Fri

nes

Pa

wh

as

gu

tea

soo

So

lik

So

ov

ad

Pr

me

of

lig

stu

Th

inc

wh

oc

A SEMANTIC STUDY OF NUMISMATIC TERMS*

V. S. PATHAK

मुद्रा-शक्ति-प्रभावेण शिवतामेति यच्छवः ।
नौमि तां जगदाराध्यां शिवां मुद्रापरालम्बिकाम् ॥
अल्लेकरोपनामानं ह्यनन्तं वै सदाशिवम् ।
आचार्यं श्रद्धया नत्वा मुद्रातत्त्वं वितन्वते ॥

Friends,

I am indeed thankful to the Bhāratiya Mudrā-Parishad for its kindness in inviting me to deliver the Presidential Address, this session. The Parishad, by doing so, has conferred the honour on a person like me, who has but little pretensions to numismatic scholarship. It is true that as a post-graduate student, I studied this branch of learning under the able guidance of Dr. Anant Sadashiv Altekar, a peerless numismatist, an ideal teacher and a selfless worker. It is also true that under his inspiration, soon after my studies I accepted the office of the Hon. Treasurer of the Society for a brief period. More than two decades have passed and now, like a bad coin, which always returns home, I am coming back to the Society, albeit temporarily, and probably as the prodigal son.

It is little curious that despite the painstaking researches spanning over a period of seventy years, the history of the word *mudrā*, which adorns the name of this august body, Mudrā-Parishad, is little known. Probably, it did not attract the attention of numismatists in a sufficient measure. Many facts of importance lie hidden in the heart of the words of numismatic import; which if studied properly may throw welcome light on various problems. I, therefore, propose to take up a semantic study of numismatic terms—a field not much trodden—for my address. The road is hazardous and the track still unbeaten, I, therefore, crave the indulgence of scholars present here for my reckless venture into the realm where numismatists in their wisdom have feared to tread.

The word *mudrā* is of uncertain origin and indefinite etymology. It occurs only once in the *Rigveda*, and that too in a compound *Lopāmudrā*.

*Presidential Address at the 68th Annual Conference.

Here, *lopā* is to be derived from Skt. \sqrt{lop} > IE. \sqrt{leup} to pierce or strike. Its cognates are found sprinkled over various Indo-European languages. Lithuanian *laupyti*, Russian *lūpit* and Serbo-Groatian *lupiti*, all connected with the action of striking, belong to this group (Carl Darling Buck, *Selected Indo-Synonyms*, p. 555).

It is of some interest to note that philologists and grammarians regard \sqrt{lop} as a variant of \sqrt{rup} and connect *lopā* with Skt. *ropa* meaning a hole or incuse, with *ropi* (pain) and also with *rūpa*, a stamped object, so familiar to Indian numismatists (vide, Walde, s. v. *rūpa*).

Rūpa in the sense of 'a stamped object' is different from '*rūpa*' meaning form. The former is derived from \sqrt{rup} to pierce, whereas the latter is connected with \sqrt{rup} to charm. Nonetheless, at several places, both in Sanskrit and Pāli, they are confused with each other. In the definition of *rūpa* (the material quality of an object), the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*Khajjanīya Sutta*, p. 312), however, preserves the original meaning of piercing and its extended meaning of tormenting—रूपतो ति खो भिक्खवे तस्मा रूपं ति वुच्चति ।

So also Pāṇini distinguishes '*rūpya*' an object which is stamped (*āhata*), and '*rūpya*' an object which is extolled for its beautiful form (रूपादाहतप्रशंसयोर्यप्). The word *lopā* from \sqrt{lop} and *rūpa* from \sqrt{rup} are thus semantically and morphologically connected, and *lopā* may mean 'a stamped object'.

Mudrā, the second element in the R̥gvedic compound, is probably connected with the Sumerian *musarum* (a written object), the Akkadian *muzrā* (deed or writing) and the Assyrian *musrau* (seal, writing). Sheftelowitz (ZDMG, Vol. 57, 1903, pp. 167-168), and Franke (ZDMG, Vol. 46, 1892, p. 743), at the turn of the century, detected the connection between *mudrā* (Skt.) and the Semitic words, and regarded *mudrā* as a loan-word in Sanskrit and Persian. Hommel advanced a theory that *mudrā* was derived from the Assyrian *musrau* through the Old Persian which changed 'z' into 'd', thus giving *musrau* > *muzrā* > *mudrā*. The theory was, however, rejected by Junker and Lüders (Hubschmanns, KZ, Vol. 36, p. 176; Przyluski, *Indian Culture*, Vol. 2, pp. 715 ff.). Mediation of Old Persian in the transformation of 'z' into 'd' is untenable, and the theory of Hommel may be discarded. Nonetheless, there is enough semantic and historical

evidence to render the Semitic association plausible. Thus, in *Lopāmudrā*, *lopā* meaning a stamped object is compounded with *mudrā*, a written object. *Lopāmudrā* may, therefore, be treated as an example of polyglottism in the form of an explanatory compound, which contains an indigenous word conjoint with a foreign loan-word of similar meaning (for other examples, S. K. Chatterji, Polyglottism in Indo-Aryan, *The Seventh Oriental Conference*, p. 183).

If this view is accepted—of course, it is to be treated as tentative, since there is only one reference of *mudrā* in the *Rigveda*,—we have perforce to infer that a millenium before the Christian era, a device of stamping object was current both in India and the Middle East for which words *rūpa-lopa* and *musrau-muzrā-mudrā* were current, and which became the predecessor of later day practice of manufacturing coins.

Let us proceed further and trace the history of the second stage in the semantic development of *mudrā*. In Iran, the word occurs in the trilingual inscriptions of Darius the Great (521-486 B. C.) and Xerxes (486-465 B. C.). With its variants Elamite *mu-is-sa-ri-ia* and Akkadian *mi-sir*, the word *mudrāya*, here, means 'the country or the people of Egypt'. (Kent, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, p. 203). However, travelling down the corridor of time, we find it in Pehlevi and modern Persian as *muhr* meaning a signet ring, seal and later a coin. The cumulative evidence suggests that *mudrā-muhr* in Iranian tradition meant 'Egyptian type of seal'.

In this context, the suggestions of Chinmoy Dutt is quite interesting. According to him, "the Persians knew only the cylinder seal as used by the Babylonians, a long round cylinder-shaped piece of stone was engraved on all sides with figures and words, and this would be rolled on a piece of clay to give the impression. The flat seal such as we know was in use among the Egyptians, and the Persians learned to use it evidently from these people, so that the Egyptian seal came to be known as 'mudrā' i. e., the Egyptian article" (Loan words in Persian, Taraporewala Memorial Volume, *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. 17, 1955-56, p. 116).

Coming back to India, we are confronted with an interesting problem. After the solitary instance in *Lopāmudrā*, the word *mudrā*, leaving no trace, goes out of vogue to reappear in the *Arthaśāstra* and

a little later in Pāli works. The *mudrā* of this period can in no way be connected with the *mudrā* in the *Rigveda* for want of links in the intervening stages, and has necessarily to be considered an importation from Persia, presumably under the Achaemenid influence. Even so, it is interesting to note that the form of the word survived from 1000 B. C. to the fifth century B. C. without morphological changes.

In the *Arthaśāstra*, it primarily meant a seal, and secondarily a passport or any stamp of authentication (*JXSI*, XIX, p. 168). In the *Milindapañho* and other Pāli works, it indicated a seal, a stamp, the science of reckoning and sign-language, but probably not script as Otto Franke had suggested.

In Central Asia, however, it took a different direction. Lüders has already proved that in the Khotanese *mura* was a term for coin and that it was derived from *mudrā*, the seal. In the Niyā Prakrit, *kīla-mundrī* meant a wedge-shaped document.

In India, however, it is only after the 12th century A. D. that the *mudrā* came to connote a coin (*IC*, II, p. 716).

If the origin of *mudrā* is traced to the Semitic sources, from where it came to India in two or three succeeding waves, *sikkā*, another term for coin in Indo-Aryan and Semitic languages, had its birth in India, travelled westward and came home in the apparels which concealed its original identity. *Sikkā* has a long history and a chequered career.

The root *sich* which sired *sikkā* occurs in the Vedic literature in the sense of casting metal. To cite only one example, the *Atharvaveda* (XI. 10. 12) mentions the casting of the thunderbolt (वज्रं यमसिञ्चत) by Bṛihaspati of the Āngiras race (Whitney, II, p. 657). √*Sich* independently or with prefixes, notably *nī* and *ā*, indicates casting (for some references, *Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, pp. 306 ff.). Therefore, *siktha*, *sikthaka* and Pāli *sitthaka*, all variants of *sikta*, a past participle of √*sich* came to denote a bee-wax mould. *Sikta* travelled westward and *sykta* in the Syrian and Aramaic languages became a regular term for moulds to manufacture coins. Syrian works penetrated in various languages of Central and Western Asia, because of the commercial enterprises and missionary activities of the Syrian-speaking Christian people. Consequently, *sikta* in

early centuries became current in Persia in the sense of a die. In Arabic languages it assumed the form of *sikkatun* from where it rebounded to Persia as *sikkā* and passed further on to India. Thus *sikta*, a cast object or a mould of casting metal, 'migrated westward and after a millenium returned home as *sikkā*, a cast coin.

However, in India both these words *mudrā* and *sikkā* indicated coinage rather late in history. What then were the early terms for coin ?

Here, of course, we have to distinguish *numisma* or coin from objects used as standards of values, or articles interchanged by way of barter, belonging to the pre-numismatic stage. For *numisma* which primarily means custom, it is necessary that its currency and specified value be sanctioned and authenticated by custom, and that it should bear a mark of the sanction.

A philological study of words from languages belonging to Indo-European stock reveals two pre-numismatic stages—the first, when cattle was the 'chattle' and the 'capital'. During this period, there is a distinct similarity between the concepts of property held by the Indo-Iranians on the one side and Graeco-Roman on the other. The series of words *paśu-pasu-pekū-pecu* indicates the mutual relationship.

The second stage starts with the introduction of metals, and, here, metal played two different roles in these two traditions. In the Graeco-Roman tradition metal acquired money-value sometime after 1000 B. C.; metallic objects—implements and utensils with standardised weight became the regular means of exchange. '*Arguriou*' (Greek), an adjective of *argyros* (silver) indicates money in the Cretan Law Code. Likewise, *argentum* (Latin) conveys both meanings, silver as well as money. '*Aes*' (Latin) primarily meaning bronze, came to connote money. Metallic objects for example *palekus* (Greek, cp. *Paraśu* Skt., axe) also signified money in Cyprus. In Crete, legal fines were assessed in bowls (*labates*), because bronze bowls had become a unit of money. Later when silver coinage was introduced, the Cretans stamped the design of bowl on them to indicate its pre-coinage predecessor. These metallic objects had a standardized weight and a fixed value. Denominations in values based on a gradation of weights were, of course, not conceived.

In early India, metals did not acquire a money value, although they might have constituted an element in the property. It is interesting to note that the Vedic words for property are *dhana*, *mīdha* and *rayi*. The word *dhana* primarily meant booty in a war and it constituted the central point in the concept of property, round which *mīdha* (rewards in victory) and *rayi* (gifts) rotated. *Daśagvā*, the gentleman owning ten cows in the early Vedic age and *godhana* in the later sum up the concept of property.

Metals were known—gold and silver in the early and copper in the later Vedic period. Unlike the Greeks, who borrowed their term for gold, *khrusos*, from the Phoenicians (*hārūs*) or the Akkadians (*hurāsu*), the Indo-Iranians used the word of Indo-European stock, *hiraṇy-zarānya*, the yellow metal.

Metals were, however, considered as having magical properties. The gods adorned themselves with gold ornaments *maṇi*, *rukma*, *nishka* etc. That the adornment was not just decoration has been proved conclusively by the semantic development of *bhūṣhaṇa* and *alamkāra* which primarily meant magical charms for promoting prosperity and warding off evils; it is later that they came to gather the meaning of adornment.

Maṇi, the magically potent pendant (*AV. VIII. 5. 1.*), which was fashioned in gold (*RV. 1.33.10*) antedates the Indo-Iranian period. The word *maninnu*, meaning necklace or a neck-ornament, occurs in the Aryan documents discovered in the Near East at Nuzi. Linguists are almost unanimous in connecting it with Vedic, *maṇi*, an ornament for the neck. It also opens up the possibility of relating *maṇi-maṇi* to *manā* in the *Rigveda* (8.78.2; for various views, Mayerhoffer, s. v. *manā*) which, hitherto has been considered as a loan-word from Babylonia. This *manā* has a definite bearing on *mna* (Greek) and *minā* (Latin) both meaning weight, and may be associated with the later Vedic *māna* weight.

Likewise, *rukma*, a gold discoid pendant, is mentioned in the Nuzi documents. About *nishka*, we shall discuss a little later. It seems that some of them had a standard weight and a standard shape.

Gold was supposed to have a magical property. It was deemed a symbol of the sun and fire. With the introduction of a graded weight standard in the later Vedic period, it became possible to use in rituals gold

in required measure one *māna* to hundred *mānas*. Numbers were treated as mysteriously effected symbols, three, four, twelve, sixteen and hundred gathering special significance, and, there, the required quantity of gold for various rituals was explicitly specified.

Numisma would have emerged only when this magic spell could be broken, and, as we shall see, this was done by the root *paṇa*, to sell, to earn profit.

It is really interesting that in the Egyptian-Sumerian civilization metals did not have money-value; they were supposed to have only magical properties. This fact gains importance in view of the similarity in the Babylonian *manā* and the Nuzi *mani*.

From the pre-numismatic stage, we shall now consider *nishka* and *śatamāna*.

A fierce controversy rages over the numismatic significance of the word *nishka* in the *Ṛigveda*, which also occurs in the later Vedic literature, works on grammar, Smṛitis, later Sanskrit literature and Pāli texts. It originally meant an ornament worn on the neck, but later signified weight and probably also coin. From the *Ṛigveda*, it could not be definitely known whether it was a pendant, or a necklace with pendants strung together, or a torque. But if we literally interpret the imagery of Kālidāsa in the *Kumāra-saṁbhava* (II. 49) where Sudarśana, the discus, stuck in the neck of Tāraka, is likened to the *nishka*, it should be a torque—a hollow roundel with spokes projecting from it. This is supported by the evidence of the *Atharvaveda* (V. 14.3) where *nishka* in a simile is described as tormenting the skin all round (*parikṛitya*) which is possible only when it is worn all around close to the skin.

Nishka seems to be a loan-word in Sanskrit from a source, not definitely determined. Its cognates and derivatives are not available in Sanskrit. Except Kāśa-Kṛitsna, who includes \sqrt{nishka} in his list of *dhātus*, presumably to regularise the formation of the word, no grammarian of antiquity satisfactorily attempts at its derivation, or explains its etymology. By philologists, it is variously connected. In the Semitic group, Aramaic *nishkā* (cast metal) from \sqrt{nsk} to pour, comparable to Skt. \sqrt{sich} which also means both to pour and to cast metal, comes

closest to the Vedic *nishka*. The Akkadian \sqrt{nsk} = cast metal and *nsq* = precious stones seem to belong to the same group. The possibility of the Old Irish *nasc* (ring) and Old High German *nusc* (bracelet or belt) being connected with *nishka* cannot be denied (for references, Manfred Mayrhofer, *Etymological Dictionary*, s. v. *nishka*).

Since there was a proliferation of words connected with *nsk* in the Akkadian-Aramaic group and, conversely, since in the Indo-European languages it had more or less an isolated existence, the Akkadian-Aramaic origin of the word is strongly indicated. Like the Babylonian *manā*, meaning weight, which migrated in the west to Greece and Roman territories as *mna* and *minā* respectively, and in the east to India as *manā*, *nsk* also seems to have sallied forth eastward and westward. Unlike *minā*, however, it survived in India for ages.

Anyway, the philological evidence suggests that *nska-nishk-nasc* primarily meant the cast metal, and then a hollow roundel-ring, bracelet or torque.

In the *Rigveda*, *nishka* occurs only four times, once in the list of donations with number specified—one hundred *nishkas* (I. 126.2). From the specific number, a presumption arises that the value of these gold torques was more or less fixed, evidently on the basis of their definite weights. The presumption gets some support from the fact that in later times *nishka* occurs in the sense of weight, though difficult to determine, since different texts give it differently. These were, therefore, like the Egyptian gold money-rings, the weights of which were variously fixed so that they could be used in transactions.

Lately a great emphasis has been laid on '*viśvarūpa*,' an adjective of *nishka* in a *mantra* of the *Rigveda* (II. 33.10). Here, *rūpa* is sometimes supposed to indicate the characteristic designs imprinted on coins.

The word *viśvarūpa*, however, is of frequent occurrence in the *Rigveda*. It occurs as many as twenty-two times and as an adjective it qualifies besides *nishka*, various objects and persons—*Tvaṣṭṛā*, bull, chariot, speech, hymns, cattle, plants, etc. Apparently, numismatic significance cannot be attached to all these contexts, and to tear out one reference from the context and to explain it on the basis of one's own

predilection, rejecting the traditional interpretation "varied forms" which is uniformly applicable to all the passages, may not be regarded as a sound practice of interpretation. There is no evidence whatsoever that *nishkas* were imprinted with marks of identification.

From the viewpoint of the semantic development of Indo-European words, the possibility of *nishka*, a neck-ornament, ultimately emerging as a coin cannot be denied. *Grivna*, a necklet in Russian, ultimately became a coin of ten *kopeks* value.

The references of *śatamāna* may be classified into two categories. In the first category, *śatamāna* merely means a hundred units of measure. Now the measures are indicated in the Brāhmaṇas and Saṁhitās by words with a numerical adjective qualifying the word *māna* from $\sqrt{mā}$ to measure. Thus, we have a *dvādaśa-māna*, a twelve-unit measure, *chaturviṁśati māna*, a twenty-four unit, *śatamāna*, a hundred unit, *aṣṭaviṁśati-śatamāna*, a one hundred and twenty-eight unit and so on. Again, these words occur in the context of the priestly fee, generally in gold and rarely in silver. *Śatamāna* seems to be the most popular unit.

There is hardly any doubt that at various places, *śatamāna* is used merely in the sense of one hundred units of gold. The *Āpastamba-Śrauta-Sūtra* envisages even the possibility of giving one hundred units of gold in three instalments—two of thirty and one of forty.

पूर्वयोर्हविषोर्द्वे त्रिंशन्माने उत्तरस्मिंश्चत्वारिंशमानम् । V. 21.8-10 (*The Chronology of the Punch-marked Coins*, p. 165). Here, *śatamāna* is in no way different from other units, such as *chaturviṁśati māna*, a twenty-four unit.

Another category consists of references of *śatamāna*, as an adjective of *rukma* (*Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, II. 2.2). *Rukma* was an ornament worn on the neck. It is described as a symbol of the sun and is accordingly shaped as a round plate with twenty-one small projections radiating around—

असौ य आदित्यः स हिरण्मयो भवति परिमण्डलो भवति, एकविंशो ह्येष बहिष्प्रान्तिर्बाधि बिभर्ति (ŚB, 6.5.1.1). As a *bandha* or fastening device, a cord of *śaṇa* grass was attached to it.

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (V. 4.3. 24-26), there is a reference to *śatamāna* which does not fall apparently in any of the two categories. But since the context indicates *śatamāna* as a circular plate of gold with a fastening device, it is in no way different from the *rukma* weighing hundred units.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* also makes an allusion to a design of three circles (*trivṛitta*) with a central point (*nābhi*) on the *rukma*. The 'three-circle' design which later got associated with *tripura* or a three-stronghold symbol was viewed as a potent charm in the *Ṛigveda* and later literature.

Now, the circular plate *śatamāna* in the later Vedic literature comes very close to the concept of a coin. It was metallic and discoid and had a definite weight and contained a design.

If *śatamāna* gradually developed the characteristics which brought it close to coinage, *kārshāpaṇa* (Skt.), *kahāpaṇa* (Pāli), *kahāvaṇā* (Prākṛit), *kāhana* (Bengali) was born as a coin. It occurs exclusively in the sense of a coin. According to the *Samanta-Pāsādikā*, those objects which contain *rūpa* or marks of authentication and which are used for commercial transactions are *kahāpaṇas* :—

सङ्खो, सिला, पवालं, रजतं, जातरूपं ति आदीसु रूपयं वृत्तं । इध पन च किञ्चि वोहार-
गमनीयं कहापणादि अधिष्येतम् ।

Kārshāpaṇa is a word of great importance for those who want to delve into the mystery of the origin of coinage. Both the elements of the word—*karsha* and *paṇa*—are dark horses of Sanskrit linguistics. According to Przyluski, *paṇa* is of Austric origin ((*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. XIV ff.). Following him, Prabodh Chandra Bagchi regards it 'as a species of numeration which is Austric (Kol) in origin'. It is also equated with Santhali *pan* which is equal to 80 cowries or twenty *gaṇḍas*. Suniti Kumar Chatterji mentions this view with approval. Despite the fact that the view is propounded and supported by linguists of fame, I beg to strike a dissenting note. *Paṇa* in the sense of weight/coin is intrinsically connected with the commercial culture-complex of which $\sqrt{\text{paṇa}}$ =to wager, to barter and to sell is the kingpin. In the later Vedic literature, there has been a proliferation of $\sqrt{\text{paṇa}}$ =*paṇati*|*te* (*Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*, VIII. 55; ŚB, III. 3. 3. 1; AB, 1.27; *pratipaṇa* and *prapaṇa* in AV, III. 15.4-5; *paṇana*, (in

ŚB, III. 3.2.19) and later *paṇya* (merchandise), *vipaṇa* and *āpaṇa* (markets) etc. Probably *paṇi* and *vaṇij* also belong to the *paṇa* group. Although $\sqrt{āpaṇa}$ is not found in the *Rigveda*, it occurs in many Indo-European languages (Brugmann, I, p. 211, II, p. 148, etc.). *Karsha*, another element of the compound *kārshāpaṇa*, is again a centre of controversy. Cunningham was of the view that it was an indigenous word (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 6). Gray, however, pointed out that *karša* in Persian means a weight, and it is supported further by Old Persian inscriptions; weights with the label inscription *karša* have been discovered.

Thomas draws our attention to a reference to *karsha* in the Aramaic papyrus which shows that the 'money of the Aramaic colony in Egypt in the sixth century B. C. was reckoned in Karsas'. Therefore, he thinks that *karsha* in India is an importation from the west (*JRAS*, 1916, pp. 366-67, but *contra* Codrington, *JRAS*, 1920, pp. 93 ff.). Accepting this view, Suniti Kumar Chatterji opines that 'Karsha would appear to have come from Achaemenian Persia, the influence of which is now being fully established' (*op. cit.*, p. 143).

This, indeed, is an interesting problem. *Karsha* is found in Aramaic papyrus of the 6th century B. C. and in Old Persian inscription of the 4th century B. C. It will be readily agreed that in the Syrian-Aramaic culture it was a loan-word since $\sqrt{kṛish-karś}$ is a root of Indo-European stock and is conspicuous by its absence in the Semitic languages. The root, however, occurs in the *Rigveda* and in the *Avesta* in a variety of meanings, the most important being to drag, and to furrow.

Now, may I draw your attention to the series *sikta-sykta-sikta-sikkā* involving Syrian, Persian and Sanskrit languages, which we had an occasion to discuss earlier? Firstly, the series indicates the cultural contacts between these cultures but for which migration of words would not have been possible. Secondly, the migration in this case had definitely been from India to Syria from where it came to Persia. The reason for this circuitous route is obvious. The root *sich* is Sanskritic, its Iranian form \sqrt{hich} to pour is found in the *Avesta* (*Ustavaiti*, Yas, 46.15) in the proper name Haechat-aspā, the great-great grand-father of Zoroaster. Hence, *sikta* could not be an original Iranian word and could only be introduced from India through the mediation of an agent, here, in this case, Syrian-speaking community.

The evidence of this series suggests the possibility of *karsha* being introduced in the Syrian community from India—directly or at least through Iranian mediation. Anyway, it could not be originally a Semitic word.

Now, the word *kārshāpaṇa* in India occurs in c. 6th century B. C., for the first time it appears in the *Sāma-vidhāna Brāhmaṇa*. *Karsha* in the sense of weight, therefore, would have come into existence sometime before. The view of Codrington is quite plausible that the concept of weight might have developed from the idea of 'dragging down', and this idea is implicit in $\sqrt{kṛish}$ as early as the *Rigveda* (V. 83.7). Under the circumstances, it cannot be determined with precision when *karsha* in India gathered the connotation of weight. It might have been sometime after 1000 B. C. and before 700 B. C., antedating the period of Aramaic papyrus.

Karsha and *paṇa* may be words of Sanskrit origin. Still, it is doubtful whether they belonged to the orthodox Vedic tradition. The Vedic standard of weight *māna* was *kṛishṇala* (black) or *raktikā* (red), the *guñjā* berries, red in colour with a black spot. Denominations in the series are denoted by numbers; from a *kṛishṇala* to one hundred measures (*śatamana*) which became fairly popular. Neither *karsha* nor *paṇa* belongs to the series, and they are incongruous elements in the *māna* standard of measures.

The outstanding characteristic feature of a coin is the mark of sanction or authentication called *rūpa*. Sometime before the fourth century B. C., *rūpa* became a term of numismatic significance. In the *Piṭakas*, *rūpiya* occurs in the sense of a coin. The *Pārājika* narrates a story. Monks sometimes used to beg *kahāpaṇas* from the lay-worshippers—*āvuso, kahāpaṇa dehi' ti*—"Gentleman, give us a *kahāpaṇa*". At this misdemeanour, the people got shocked and commented, "Oh Buddhist monks accept *rūpiyas* (coins)."—*ime samaṇā Sakyaputtiyā rupiyāṃ paṭigaṇhanti' ti*. *Rūpa* in the sense of a coin occurs at several places in the *Arthaśāstra*. *Rūpya* in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* (5. 2. 20) may also be interpreted as a coin, and later grammarians have accepted this meaning.

We had an occasion to comment upon the etymology of *rūpa*, an object imprinted with a design. Originally \sqrt{rup} indicated breaking,

piercing and scratching. Its cognates in the Indo-European languages are given by Karl Brugmann: "rup-lup tear, break; Lat. rumpo, Ags. reofan; O. Icel. rjufa to break" (*The Comparative Grammar of Indo-Germanic Languages*, I, p. 208).

In the *Ṛigveda*, the word retains the old association of tearing or breaking, but alongside develops the significance of a design or form. At several places, *rūpa* occurs in the collocation of the root *mī* to kill (e.g. I. 33.3, 95.8, V. 45.13, etc.) where 'killing' merely consists in scratching, carving, beating into shape etc. There are, however, verses in the *Ṛigveda*, where the association of 'killing' is totally absent. For example, a verse (I. 95.8) refers to the shining form (*tveshaṁ rūpaṁ*) of a big bellied pot (*budhna*) where burnishing of the pot may be intended.

Later two words connected with *rūpa* came into existence—*jātarūpa* and *rūpya* with its Pāli variant *rūpiya*. The *jātarūpa* (possessing the native form) refers to gold in the later Vedic literature (*Vedic Index*, I, p. 201), and *rūpiya* in the Piṭakas means silver. Gold was called *jātarūpa* because various objects were fashioned out of it. Devarāja Yajvā rightly explains it as '*anāhāryatayā jātaṁ rūpaṁ asya*' which obtained an unalienable form. Silver was called *rūpiya* for the identical reasons.

It is in the third stage of the semantic development of *rūpa* that it acquired the meaning of a design which characterises a coin, and this must have happened sometime before Pāṇini.

On the problem of imprinting or forging the design, the semantic development of \sqrt{han} with prefix *ā* throws some welcome light. The word *āhata*, past participle of *ā + \sqrt{han}* is generally taken to indicate punch-marked coins. The later grammatical tradition, however, does not support the interpretation, as the *Kāśikā* commenting on the *sūtra* includes even the die-struck coins in the category of the *āhata*. But this is no legitimate objection, for when the *Kāśikā* was composed, punch-marked coins had gone out of vogue, and the *Kāśikā* could naturally have gone astray.

Here attention is drawn to an Old Persian inscription which refers to the moulded (*ājata*) bricks, where *ājata* (participle of *ā + \sqrt{jan}* =

$\bar{a} + \sqrt{han}$ = past participle $\bar{a}hata$) is the Old Iranian form of $\bar{a}hata$. This evidence requires serious consideration.

The word $\bar{a}hata$ naturally recalls $\bar{a}hana$ in the *Rigveda*, because both words have the same root and prefix. $\bar{A}hana$ in the *Rigveda* occurs in the association of the process of creating forms and procreating child, and, therefore, before determining the specific meaning of the word, I would like to draw your attention to a verse in the *Mahābhārata* which contains a similar idea :

यथा हि लौहनिष्पन्दो निषिक्तो बिम्बविग्रहम् ।

उपैति तद्वज्जानीहि गर्भे जीवप्रवेशनम् ॥ XIV. 18.8

“You should know that” (the assumption of human form by) a $jīva$ entering into the womb is like the transformation of liquid copper, into an image when poured (in the mould) (V. M. Bedekar, *The Process of Metal Casting in the Mahābhārata*, *Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, pp. 306-9).

The idea is repeated in a number of medical and philosophical works. The following extract from the *Charaka-saṁhitā* may be considered :—

जरायुजानामण्डजानां च प्राणिनामेते गर्भकरा भावा यां यां योनिमापद्यन्ते तस्यां तस्यां योनौ तथा तथा रूपा भवन्ति, यथा कनक-रजत-त्रपु-सीसका—न्यासिञ्च्यमानानि तेषु तेषु मधूच्छिष्ट-विग्रहेषु तानि तानि यदा मनुष्यबिम्बमापद्यन्ते, तदा मनुष्य-विग्रहेण जायन्ते ।

Here again the development of a foetus in the womb is likened to the formation of an image in the mould.

In this, context, I draw your attention to the following verse in the *Rigveda* (X.184.1) which contains the germs of this idea, and in which $\sqrt{piṁśa}$ and \sqrt{sich} occur which are associated with the carving or fashioning of an object as well as with the process of procreation :—

विष्णुर्योनिं कल्पयतु त्वष्टा रूपाणि पिशतु ।

आसिञ्चतु प्रजापतिर्घाता गर्भं दधातु ते ॥

Here $piṁśatu$ from $\sqrt{piś}$ to fashion, may be compared with the Old Persian $ni-piś$ to write, Latin $pingire$ to embroider or to paint, Lithuanian $piesti$ to sketch and Greek $poikeios$ to colour. All these cognates signify the fashioning of an image. The root $piś$ actually occurs in the *Rigveda*

in this sense—*chamasān* = *apimśata*, he fashioned a drinking vessel. Likewise \sqrt{sich} to pour is connected with the casting of objects, as discussed earlier. In this respect, \sqrt{sich} is comparable to *khuno* (Greek) and *fundere* (Latin) which connote both pouring as well as casting.

Thus, the process of casting in Indian tradition is projected against the formation of foetus in the womb after seminal discharge.

Now, we may consider the meaning of *āhana* in the *Rigveda*. A verse from the fifth book refers to *āhanas* creating forms in the womb of the daughter—आहना दुहितुर्वक्षणासु रूपा मिनानो (V. 42. 13). The word *vakshana* means womb as in गर्भं माता सुचितं वक्षणासु (X. 27. 16).

The idea gets further clear when it is stated that “soma juice speedily entered into the waters, when it developed. Therefore, the waters are the *āhanas*.”

Here, *āhana* means a receptacle where the content develops, a womb where foetus assumes form. Anyway, *āhana* does not convey the idea of striking. On the other hand, in view of the recurrent analogy of womb and mould the word *āhana* carries a strong association of the concept of mould. Therefore, where in the *Rigveda* the word *āhata* comes in the context of fashioning an object, it may signify ‘moulded or cast’ article; *aksha āhataḥ* (X. 85. 2) may, therefore, mean a moulded axle’.

In view of the Old Persian *ājata* and the Vedic *āhata*, both meaning ‘moulded’, the word in the Pāṇinian aphorism may indicate moulding or casting.

For punch and die, the term used in literature is *ṭaṅka*. The root *ṭaki* is mentioned in the *dhātupāṭha* of Paṇini, and duly commented by grammarians like Kshīrasvāmī and others. It is also found in Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa. Thakkur Pheru in the *Dravya-Parīkshā* uses it as a verb to denote stamping or die-striking, and as a noun in the sense of a coin. In the latter form, it occurs in Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa in a number of meanings; the most important being a chisel or an implement for breaking stones, and cutting trees, an instrument for punching coins, a die, a weight and a coin. Inscriptions refer to *ṭaṅka-śāla* (mint-house) and *ṭaṅka-śālā-*

karāṇa (the Department of Minting coins; Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 336). *ṭaṅka* in the Armenian and *deng* in Russian, both meaning coin, are related to it.

One of the earliest references to *ṭaṅka* in the sense of an implement for punching coins is found in the *Arthaśāstra*. For detecting a person who indulges in counterfeiting coins, Kauṭilya suggests to keep a watchful eye on those who frequently purchase, *inter alia*, *bimba-ṭaṅka*, which apparently means a *ṭaṅka* for stamping *bimba* or designs. The *Kāśikā*, of course, indicates a little later process, when *ṭaṅka*, the punch, had transformed itself into a die. According to this text "the design which is embossed on coins, *dīnāra* and others by striking them on the anvil is termed as *āhata*." Now, a reference to *nighātikā* is significant, because it distinguishes punching from die-striking. In the punching process, a design-bearing *ṭaṅka* is placed over a piece of metal in the semi-molten condition, and it is struck with a hammer. In the die-striking, one die is placed on anvil over which the semi-molten piece is adjusted. Another die is carved in the *ṭaṅka*, which when placed over the metallic piece, thus adjusted, and hammered, both the dies are imprinted simultaneously. This method of die-striking was used in ancient Greece also. Dr. Charles Seltman, the great numismatist, describes the method as follows :

"An artist or a craftsman would carve an intaglio design on a thick disk of bronze, this was the obverse die which fitted into a pit sunk in the top face of an anvil. On the lower end of a square-faced bronze punch the man next carved another intaglio, design, this was the reverse die.

"In the little furnace nearby, blank disks of silver, carefully adjusted to the correct weight, were heated to make them adequately malleable, and one by one these silver disks were placed with aid of a pair of tongs upon the anvil over the sunk obverse die. Down upon each disk came the reverse die on the end of the square faced punch held in a man's left hand. The hammer in his right hand smote several blows upon the upper end of the punch. The tongs pulled the silver disk away, for it was now a finished coin which required only to refrigerate."

Before leaving the subject of manufacturing coins, we may touch upon *mūshā*, a word the etymology of which is quite baffling. It is used in the sense of a melting crucible and mould. It seems to be a loan-word

in Sanskrit, since it is connected with no known Sanskrit root, nor does it have any cognate or derivative in Sanskrit. In the *Arthaśāstra*, it is included in the articles required for minting coins. In the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, it is mentioned in connection with the craft of goldsmith. The *Bṛihatvimāna Śāstra* a work of unknown date and authorship, contains a whole chapter on the types of *mūshās*. The *Dravya-Parīkshā* also describes a number of its types. The work seems to have a great bearing on the technique of moulding, but since its etymological connections are unknown, not much can be deduced.

From this semantic and etymological study of terms having numismatic significance, a few interesting facts have emerged. In the second millenium B. C., there was a cultural intercourse between India and the Semitic countries as revealed by *mudrā-muzrā* and *nsc-nishka* series of words, and this contact was responsible for the introduction of the pre-numismatic stage when gold ornaments became the symbols of value and status.

Śatamāna takes us to the next pre-numismatic phase when a well defined system of weights had come into existence. With *śatmāna* assuming a definite shape and weight, the stage was set for the appearance of *numisma*.

A study of the root *paṇa*, to sell, indicates the development of mercantile economy which served as a catalytic agent for the induction of the numismatic age. Again *karsha* reveals India's contact with the Semitic countries. *Karsha* and *paṇa* envisage a new standard of weights. *Rūpya* emphasizes the growing popularity of silver, *Rūpa*, in its third stage of semantic development, had acquired the meaning of a design carrying the authoritative sanction. It heralded the appearance of *numisma* on the scene. Around this time or a little later, *sikta* seems to have migrated to Syria and in the course of development became a *sikkā*.

Āhata indicates the continuity of the method of casting and *ṭaṅka* introduces a new method of coinage, to wit, punching which subsequently developed into die-striking.

I am thankful to you for listening to this long and dry discourse.

Here, I have deliberately refrained from pointing out various ways and methods for promoting researches in numismatics. I am an humble

student, and it will be an overweening, audacious presumption on my part to deliver *ex cathedra*, a sermon to scholars of your eminence. I, therefore, simply bow in reverence to the Supreme Lord, who in His *Viśvarūpa* aspect has appeared before me in the form of scholars present here, and express my gratitude towards Him for having kindly accepted my humble offerings of colourless words.

प्रदीपज्वालाभिर्दिवसकरनीराजनविधिः

सुधासूतेश्चन्द्रोपललवजलैरर्घ्यरचना ।

स्वकीयैरम्भोभिः सलिलनिधिसौहित्यकरणं

त्वदीयाभिर्वाग्भिस्तव जननि ! वाचां स्तुतिरियम् ॥

BHELAVAR HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

SARJUG PRASAD SINGH

(Pls. I-II)

The hoard containing a large number of silver punch-marked coins was found in an earthen pot while some labourers were working in a cultivated field on the mound of the village of Bhelavar about 10 kilometres to the east of Jehanabad in the Gaya District of Bihar. The place is approachable by road from Hatimora (Hatīmōḍa) on the Jehanabad-Bihar Sharif metalled road.

Of the coins of the hoard, 16 pieces were found in the possession of Shri Pasupati Singh of the village of Barhaona (Baḍhaonā) situated about one kilometre to the east of Bhelavar. It may be noted in this connection that the mound of Bhelavar, also called Bhelavargarh, is an interesting archaeological site of high antiquity and the pot-sherds of Black-and-Red Ware, N. B. P. Ware, Grey Ware, Red Ware etc., are found on the surface of the mound and the near by fields. The early terracotta figurines, seals and sealings, Mitra and Kushāna coins, uninscribed cast copper coins and inscribed terracotta balls of Gupta and post-Gupta periods bearing the personal names such as *Kshiradeva*, *Mahidharadeve*, *Bhūdattadeva* etc., and the Brāhmaṇical sculptures of Pāla-Sena period discovered from the mound of Bhelavar suggest that the place was in flourishing condition from c.600 B. C. down to the Pāla-Sena period, if not earlier still.

The coins under discussion are in good state of preservation and bear clear marks of symbols. Three pieces (Pl. I, Nos, 6, 8 and 10) are made from silver globules. Silver of required weight was weighed and melted and was allowed to take solid form of a globule. The globule was then flattened by repeated heating and beating on an anvil by hammering. The blank was then ready for punching the symbols. Each symbol was impressed by individual pencil die, a group of five on the obverse and one

1. The present author is very much thankful to Shri Pasupati Singh (of Barhaona) and Shri Sahajdeep Singh and Shri Yamuna Sharma (of Bhelavar) for their interest in preserving the antiquities of Bhelavar.

or more on the reverse.¹ Each coin was individually processed. The coins manufactured by this process required no clipping of the edges. 13 coins of the present hoard were manufactured by the metal sheet-cutting method.

The coins may be identified with ancient *kārsāpanas* of 32-ratti standard as the weight varies between 3.4028 grammes (52.51 grains) and 2.6404 grammes (41.05 grains). The coins may be classified into groups as follows :

Class I, Group I, Variety a : This variety is represented by a single specimen of fine fabric. It weighs 3.4028 grammes (52.51 grains). (Pl. I, No. 1; Pl. II, I.a; Cat. No. 1). The coin bears the marks of the sun, a variant of six-armed symbol (three arrows and three ovals with taurine alternately placed around a circle with a dot within it), dog on five-peaked-hill, bull and elephant on the obverse, and a flower plant, leafy tree and an indistinct symbol on the reverse.² The present variety corresponds to class 29 A2 of Durga Prasad;³ 6.III. C of Allan (*BMC, AI*), III. IV. b. of the Purana hoard; IV. VIII. F. 2 of the Amravati hoard and III. h (a)2, of the Hyderabad Museum. 883 coins of this variety are known from different hoards.

The details of the discoveries are as follows :—

1. Allahabad	hoard	No. 1	3 coins
2. Allahabad	„	No. 2	2 „
3. Amravati	„		298 „
4. Bahal	„		68 „
5. Bhandra	„		1 coin
6. Big Bhir Mound	„		220 coins
7. Bilaspur	„		1 coin

1. For coins and inscribed terracotta balls see *INC*, Vol. XII, Pts. 1-2, pp. 108 ff.; *JESI*, Vol. IV, pp. 82 ff.; *JAIH*, Vol. III, Pts. 1-2, pp. 17 ff., Pl. I, figs. 1-4. The silver punch-marked coins of smaller and thicker variety bear a minute but some what bigger mark on the reverse.
2. Cunningham obtained silver punch-marked coins of the same variety from Karon Dih (Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. 69, Pl. VIII, No. I).
3. *JASB*, Vol. XXX, Pl. XIV, class 9 A2. Durga Prasad refers to the discovery of the coins of this variety from Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Swat, Mathura, Taregna, Bhagalpur and Ahraura. See also Gupta, p. 65; p. 75, pl. IV, nos. 10-21.

1981]

BHELAVAR HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

8.	Gorakhpur	hoard	16 coins
9.	Gorhoghat	„	2 „
10.	Gulbarga	„	9 „
11.	Hardoi	„	8 „
12.	Harha	„	4 „
13.	Karim Nagar	„	18 „
14.	Kausāmbī	„	9 „
15.	Kondapur	find	1 coin
16.	Lalganj (Ajamgarh, Uttar Pradesh)	hoard	18 coins
17.	Mambalam	hoard	68 „
18.	Maski	„	1 coins
19.	Mayurbhanj	„	23 coins
20.	Palanpur	„	5 „
21.	Purnea (Patraha)	„	106 „
22.	Raichur	„	7 „
23.	Rairh	No. 1	17 „
24.	Rairh	No. 2	1 coins
26.	Rairh	No. 4	4 coins
26.	Rairh	No. 5	37 „
27.	Umrer	„	2 „
28.	U. P. T. T. No 28/1916	„	9 „
29.	Uttara	„	2 „
30.	Vembavur	No. 1	21 „
31.	Vembavur	No. 2	22 „
32.	Vizigapatam	„	5 „

The above details of the discovery of the coins of the present variety show that the largest number of coins 298 and 220 were included respectively in the Amravati¹ hoard and the Big Bhir Mound hoard of Taxila. The hoards of Bihar contained 110 coins. The coins were in circulation in a very wide area of India. Hence, it is difficult to determine the place of origin of the coins.

Class II, Group I, Variety a : It is represented by a single specimen in good condition Pl. I, No. 2; pl. II, II. I.a, Cat. No. 2.² It is 2.9540 grammes (42.58 grains) in weight. The coin is of thin fabric and

1. Gupta, *AH*, p. 65.

2. Cf. Gupta, *HM*, p. 90, Pl. VII, No. 17.

shows the marks of the sun, a variant of six-armed symbol (three arrows and three ovals each divided into two parts and alternately placed around a circle with a dot within it), *Sivalinga* (what is called flasklike object) encircled by six taurines, four fishes in a square tank and a conventionalised tree. The reverse of the coin shows a minute mark of four dots within a square. Interestingly enough the examination of the marks of symbols impressed on the obverse of the coin shows that the six-armed symbol was impressed first; this was followed by *linga* or flask symbol. The conventionalised tree was impressed next and this was followed by the four-fishes in the square tank which overlaps on the *linga* (or flask) and the tree. The sun symbol was impressed last. The sun is punched in a very narrow space between the six-armed symbol and the *linga* (or flask) and is also imposed on them.

It may be noted in this connection that the six-armed symbols of different varieties found on the silver punch-marked coins are very significant for grouping the obverse symbols. More than sixty-one varieties of this symbol are known. Each variety is associated with a definite group of third, fourth and the fifth symbols. A particular group of obverse symbols (i.e. third, fourth and fifth) are not generally found to be associated with more than one variety of six-armed symbol.

The symbols on the punch-marked coins are so scientifically grouped that mint master's mistakes are often detected.

The coins of this variety have also been found from widely distributed places. They are as follows :—

	Hoard	No. 1	1 Coin
1. Allahabad		No. 2	1 "
2. Allahabad	"		1 "
3. Akkalkot	"		1 "
4. Amravati	"		118 coins
5. Bahal	"		6 "
6. Baroda	"		1 coin
7. Bhimalipatam	"		1 "
8. Gokulvan	"		7 coins
9. Gorakhpur	"		4 "
10. Gorhoghat	"		2 "
11. Gulbarga	"		2 "
12. Karimnagar	"		2 "

13.	Lalganj	hoard	4 coins
14.	Machhuatoli	„	36 „
15.	Mambalam	„	4 „
16.	Mathura	„	7 „
17.	Peshawar	„	1 coin
18.	Purnea	„	38 coins
19.	Rairh	„ No. 1	4 „
20.	Rairh	„ No. 4	1 coin
21.	Rairh	„ No. 5	7 coins
22.	Taxila (B.H.U.)	„ No. 2	1 coin
23.	U.P.T.T. No.28/1916	„	3 coins
24.	Veersigamani	„	2 „
25.	Vembavur	„	3 „
26.	Vizigapatam	„	4 „

The variety in question corresponds to class III. E. 1 of the Hyderabad Museum; II.X.h of the Purnea hoard; V. III. I of the Amravati hoard; 2. V. C of Allan (*BMC, AI*) and 24 Ai of Durga Prasad. Although the Amravati hoard contained largest number of coins numbering 118, it is difficult to say whether this variety originated in the south. The coins have been found from all parts of India and therefore the place of origin of the coins of the present variety cannot be determined.

Class III, Group I, Variety a : Two coins (Pl. I, Nos. 7-8) have been attributed to this variety. Both the coins exhibit the marks of the sun, a variant or six-armed symbol (three arrows, a hare, dumb-bell and taurus alternately placed around a circle with a dot within it)¹, tree-in-railing with a taurus on either side, caduceus, and a goat standing before a flower-plant. A 'pot-like object' is generally found at the back of the goat or stag; but the symbol on the present coins (at the back of goat) is not clear.²

1. The six-armed symbol is not generally found to be fully punched on the smaller size of silver punchmarked coins and more than two arms of it are rarely found; but on the coin No. 8, the six-armed symbol is completely impressed and all the details are clear.
2. Gupta has tried to find out the different variations of the symbol at the back of the goat or stag on the coins of the Amravati hoard and has wrongly classified the coins of the same variety into various sub-varieties. See *AH*, pp. 84 f.; varieties V. IV. B. Ia-V. IV. B. 1f.

Therefore, the coins have been tentatively attributed to the present variety which corresponds to V. IV. B. Ia of the Amravati hoard, IV. B. I of the Hyderabad Museum, II. V. a-b of the Purnea hoard, 2.Ib. C-J of Allan and 32 AI of Durga Prasad.

The coins of the variety in question were also very popular and have been found from all parts of India. The details of the discovery are as follows :—

1. Allahabad	hoard		7 coins
2. Amravati	"		700 "
3. Bahal	"		73 "
4. Barwani	"		264 "
5. Baroda	"		4 "
6. Bhalua	"		6 "
7. Bhandara	"		4 "
8. Bhimalipatam	"		6 "
9. Gorakhpur	"		23 "
10. Gorhoghat	"		3 "
11. Gokulvan	"		72 "
12. Gulbarga	"		3 "
13. Harha	"		1 coin
14. Hathuma	"		3 coins
15. Kabar	"		2 "
16. Karimnagar	"		16 "
17. Kaumakuttai	"		2 "
18. Machhuatoli	"		283 "
19. Mambalam	"		15 "
20. Mathura	hoards		54 "
21. Peshawar	hoard		1 coin
22. Purnea	"		52 coins
23. Raichur	"		3 "
24. Rairh	"	No. 1	29 coins
25. Rairh	"	No. 2	1 coin
26. Rairh	"	No. 4	22 coins
27. Rairh	"	No. 5	4 "
28. Ramana	"		1 coin

1981]

BHELAVAR HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

25

29.	Taxila (B.H.U.)	hoard	No. 1	12 coins
30.	„	„	No. 2	11 „
31.	Umrer	„		9 „
32.	U. P. T. T. No. 28/1916	„		5 „
33.	Uttara ¹	„ (unpublished)		2 „
34.	Veersigamani	„		1 coin
35.	Vembavur	„		7 coins
36.	Vene	„		2 „
37.	Vizigapatam	„		2 „

Class III, Group I, Variety b : This variety is represented by a single piece of thick fabric. (Pl. I, No. 10; Pl. II. III. I. b; *Cat.*, No. 5.) It is 1.5 cm. in diameter and 2.8210 grammes (43.53 grains) in weight. The coin is in good state of preservation. It was made of a silver globule. The coin has been attributed to the present variety on the basis of the flower-like symbol found on the back of the goat. It is an unknown variety.

Class III, Group I, Variety c : The present variety is also represented by a solitary specimen (Pl. I, No. 9; Pl. II, III. I. c; *Cat.*, No. 6). It is 2.8600 grammes (or 44.14 grains) in weight. It is a new variety. The peculiar symbol found on the back of the goat is hitherto unknown.

Class IV, Group I, Variety a : This variety is also known from a solitary specimen of thick fabric. (Pl. I, No. 4; Pl. II. III. I. a; *Cat.*, No. 7) It is a rectangular piece and one of its corners is clipped off. It is 2.9575 grammes (45.62 grains) in weight. The coin shows the marks of the sun, six-armed symbol three-peaked hill with crescent and caduceus. The fifth symbol is formed by the combination of an elephant to r.

1. The village of Uttarā is about 14 kilometres to the west of Makhdumpur police Station in the Gaya District of Bihar. It is about 5 kilometres to the east of Kurtha and connected by, the Jeepable Kurtha-Lari road. It is an interesting archaeological site and is associated in the local tradition with Uttarā, the well-known heroine of the *Mahābhārata*, the wife of Abhimanyu. It is believed that the place was visited by Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas. A hoard of coins was found in the possession of an inhabitant of this village. The hoard is said to have been found in a cultivated plot of land on the mound of Uttarā while a ploughman was ploughing there. The Uttara hoard will be published soon by the present author.

with a taurus on its back and a human figure standing, holding a dumb-bell in his either hand. Under their feet is a thick line. The human figure seems to represent an elephant charmer engaged in the performance of the magic show with the elephant and playing on the dumbbells (or *mudgar*) to attract the attention of the people. This is a common place dramatic scene represented on the punch-marked coins. The coins of this variety are the same as 40 A 10 of Durga Prasad, 2.III. h-j of Allan, II.IV. h of the Purnea hoard and III. A (h). 1 of the Hyderabad Museum.

Class IV, Group I, Variety b : This variety is also known from a single coin. Pl. I, No. 6; Pl. II, IV. I. b; *Cat.*, No. 8. It is a circular thick piece 1.5 cm. in diameter. It weighs 2.5412 grammes (or 45.37 grains). The symbols are deeply punched into the metal; but none of them is complete. The coin bears the marks of the sun, six-armed symbol, three-peaked hill with crescent, caduceus and the fifth symbol is the combination of the triangle headed banner and treskelis (formed by three hooks put around a circle with a dot within it). The combination of the banner and the shield seems to be associated with some sort of magical belief. The reverse of the coin shows the minute marks of the caduceus and another indistinct symbol. The present variety corresponds to III. A (h). 5 of the Hyderabad Museum and II. IV. d of the Purnea hoard. One coin was found in the Gulbarga hoard; but the great Amravati hoard contains no coin of this variety.

Class IV, Group I, Variety c : This variety is also known from a single specimen. Pl. I, No. 5; Pl. I, IV. I. c; *Cat.*, No. 9. It is same as IV. I. a above; but here the disk of the fifth symbol treskelis is solid. Therefore, the coin has been attributed to the present variety. The coin weighs 2.9064 grammes (44.84 grains). The variety corresponds to II. IV. d of the Purnea hoard and III. A (h) 5 of the Hyderabad Museum. The coin in question bears a minute mark of caduceus on the reverse.

Class IV. Group I, Variety d : Only a single specimen of this variety is known. Pl. I, No. 3; Pl. II, IV. I. d; *Cat.*, No. 10. It is a rectangular piece 2.8456 grammes (43.44 grains) in weight. The coin is fresh in look and bears the clear marks of Amravati hoard, III. A

(b).2 of the Hyderabad Museum, II. IV. I of the Purnea hoard, 40 A 8 of Durga Prasad and 2. IV. a of Allan. The fifth symbol is interesting. It is formed by four crescents put around a central dot and a fish below. Gupta has classified the coins of the variety under discussion into many sub-varieties. He seems to have found five different forms of the fifth symbol.¹

Interestingly the reverse symbol found on the coins of all the above varieties of class IV (IV. I. a and IV. I. d) is caduceus (Pl. I. Nos. 3-6); but some coins also bear the traces of one or more associate marks (Pl. I, Nos. 3-5). The minute form of the reverse symbol caduceus is deeply punched into the metal on all the coins of class IV and seems to have been impressed at the time of minting the coins. The symbol may be recognised as mint mark. The mint marks on the reverse of the different series of silver punch-marked coins have not yet been noticed and identified by the numismatists. The study of mint marks on the reverse of the coins is interesting and useful in locating the mints, minting towns and the country from where the coins were issued.

The thicker series of smaller coins made from the globules or sheets of silver bear a somewhat bigger or bold mint mark on the reverse. The mint mark is sometimes found with one or more associate marks; but it is not difficult to recognise the mint mark among the reverse symbols. Gupta opines that these minute symbols are known of definite varieties and forms and are quite different from those found on the obverse of the coins; but this is not correct. Many of the reverse marks are minute forms of the obverse symbols, such as, the peacock, caduceus, three-peaked hill with crescent, four taurines or four crescents around a central dot etc., and are definitely associated with the obverse group of symbols.

Surprisingly enough Gupta does not favour the study of the reverse symbols of the punch-marked coins. He says that 'each hoard brings out a large number of minute symbols on their coins and it is not possible to identify and collect all of them without great effort of examining each and every coin with great patience and care; which would require a long time and arduous labour', and 'at the end, the identification and the

1, *AH*, Pl. III, 267a-267e.

study of these minute marks would hardly bear out any useful result compared to the labour put in and as far as the problems of the punch-marked coinage are concerned'. Gupta further says that he 'deliberately ignored' the study of the reverse symbols found on the Amravati hoard.¹ But his suggestions are not tenable. Many numismatists such as Walsh, Spooner, Theobald, Durga Prasad, and P. N. Battacharya have made valuable studies of the reverse symbols of the punch-marked coins and have identified a large number of symbols. Kosambi and Walsh believed that the study of reverse symbols will furnish data for the different varieties and classes of coins.² Gupta thinks that 'these minute marks might have been the marks of money-testers (*rūpadarśaka* or *rūpatarka*). He says that 'what was the actual system of putting these marks by these authorities and what intervals, we do not know'. He further says that 'whenever a coin came to the tester for examination, he tested and stamped it'.³ Gupta's above arguments seem to be unacceptable. *Rūpadarśaka* referred to in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* was probably a coin-testing officer during the Mauryan period. It is doubtful whether the coin-testing officer was functioning during the entire period of circulation of the silver punch-marked coins. *Rūpatarka* of the *Mahābhāshya* of *Patañjali* was probably not associated with minting and stamping of silver punch-marked coins. His duties are not specified. The duties of *rupadarśaka*, as laid down in the *Arthaśāstra*, were to identify the genuine (*viśuddha*) coins to be accepted (*pratigrahaṇīya*) in the State treasury by *Sannidhātā* (or treasurer). It is further stated that *rūpadarśaka* should cut (*chhedayet*) the fake (*aśuddha*) coins; but he also used to put his own minute test mark on the reverse of the coins is not known. The reverse symbols of the different series of silver punch-marked coins show no uniformity. No mark of the coin-testing officer has been identified so far. Therefore we reject the conjecture that reverse symbols were impressed by *rūpadarśaka* or *rūpatarka* (money testing officer).

The coins of the variety under discussion are known from the hoards as follows :—

1. Allahabad	hoard	2 coins
2. Amravati	"	209 "

1. *AH*, p. 119.

2. *New Indian Antiquary*, IV, p. 34 f.

3. *AH*, *Op. cit.*

3.	Baroda	hoard	2
4.	Barwani	„	103 coins
5.	Bhalua	„	2 „
6.	Bhandra	„	1 coin
7.	Gorakhpur	„	2 coins
8.	Gulbarga	„	5 „
9.	Hardoi	„	2 „
10.	Karimnagar	„	1 coin
11.	Machhuatoli	„	67 coins
12.	Mathura	hoards	19 „
13.	Purnea	hoard	64 „
14.	Rairh	„ No. 1	10 „
15.	Rairh	„ No. 2	3 „
16.	Rairh	„ No. 4	4 „
17.	Rairh	„ No. 5	15 „
18.	Rothulapalam	„	1 coin
19.	Taxila (B.H.U.)	„ No. 1	2 coins
20.	Taxila (B.H.U.)	„ No. 2	8 „
21.	Udayani	„	2 „
22.	U.P.T.T. No. 20/1916	„	1 coin
23.	Veersigmani	„	1 „
24.	Vene	„	1 „
25.	Vizigapatam	„	1 „

Class IV, Group II, Variety a: Two coins¹ Pl. I, Nos. 12, 13. Pl. II, IV. II. a. have been attributed to this variety. The coins are of medium fabric and 2.7960 grammes (43.14 grains) and 2.6604 (41.05 grains) respectively in weight. The coins bear the marks of the sun, six-armed symbol (three arrows and three taurines placed around a circle with a dot within it), flower vase or tub-like object within a square. Gupta took it to be hand palm within a square. The fifth symbol is a standing bull-with a crescent and a pair of taurines placed before its mouth. Gupta has tried to identify the variations of this symbol and has classified the coins of the Amravati hoard into various

1. The coin corresponds to VI. III. H. 16 of the Amravati hoard, III. A (e)1 of the Hyderabad Museum, 2. IV.V. of Allan, 4094 of Durga Prasad and II. VIII. b of the Purnea hoard.

sub-varieties (VI. III. H. Ia and VI. III. H. Ic). He found minor variations of the symbols stamped before the mouth of the bull which were caused by the defective punchings. The details of the discovery of the coins are as follows :

1. Allahabad	hoard	3 coins
2. Baroda	„	1 coin
3. Barwani	„	34 coins
4. Bhalua	„	12 „
5. Bhandra	„	2 „
6. Gorakhpur	„	1 coin
7. Gulbarga	„	2 coins
8. Hathuma	„	2 „
9. Kondapur	„	1 coin
10. Lalganj	„	2 coins
11. Machhuatoli	„	50 „
12. Mathura	hoards	15 coins
13. Purnea	„	41 „
14. Rairh	„	17 „
15. Sialkot	„	1 coin
16. Taxila (B. H. U.)	„ No. 1 & 2	9 coins
17. Thathari	„	2 „
18. Udayani ¹	„	2 „

Class IV, Group II, Variety b : The hoard contains a single specimen of this variety Pl. I, No. 14. It is 2.9149 grammes (44.96 grains) in weight. The obverse group of symbols include the sun, six-armed symbol (Pl. II, IV. II. b), three peaked hill with crescent and flower vase or tub-like object within a square. The fifth symbol is very interesting. It represents a standing human figure or magician on a pole² placed within a railing

1. The village of Udayani is about 5 kilometres to the South of Kumrahar and about the same distance to the east of Parsa bazar Railway Station on the Patna-Gaya branch line of the Eastern Railway. The place is said to have been founded by Udayi (or Udyain) the son and successor of Ajātsatru of Hryanka dynasty of Magadha, who ruled for 16 years and transferred the capital of Magadha from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra. The coins of the Udayani hoard are under publication.
2. The upper portion of the pole and the human figure or magician are out of the flan.

flanked by the taurus from either side of the railing and the pole. His right hand is stretched straight and the left placed on the waist. The present variety is the same as 2.IV.V. of Allan, 40 G1 of Durga Prasad, II. VIII. a of the Purnea hoard; and III.A (e) z of the Hyderabad Museum.

Class IV, Group III, variety a : Two coins Pl. I. Nos. 11 & 15 of this variety were found. They show the marks of the sun, six-armed symbol, three-peaked hill with crescent, 'steel yard' and peacock on five peaked hill on the obverse, and the faint traces of the last named symbol on the reverse. The coins are 3.1731 grammes (48.97 grains) and 3.1408 (48.57 grains) respectively in weight. The coins of the variety in question were well recognised by the people and were very popular in the ancient towns and cities of all parts of India. The discovery of the coins is as follows :—

1. Allahabad	hoard	5 coins
2. Amravati	„	420 „
3. Bahal	„	11 „
4. Barwani	„	356 „
5. Bhalua	„	6 „
6. Bhandra	„	1 coin
7. Dharmapuram	„	1 „
8. Gorakhpur	„	22 coins
9. Gorhoghat	„	2 „
10. Hathuma	„	1 coin
11. Kauśāmbī	„	1 „
12. Keur	„	1 „
13. Kondapur	finds	1 „
14. Lalganj	hoard	2 coins
15. Macchuatoli	„	25 „
16. Mambalam	„	10 „
17. Mathura	hoards	18 „
18. Mayurbhanj	hoard	2 „
19. Peshawar	„	1 coin
20. Purnea	„	55 coins
21. Rairh	hoards	13+3+156+254 „
Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5		Respectively

22.	Sialkot	hoard		1 coin
23.	Taregna	„		17 coins
24.	Taxila (B. H. U.)	hoard	Nos. 1-2	43 „
25.	Thathari	hoard		1 coin
26.	Tondamanthan (South Arcot)	„		1 „
27.	U. P. T. T. No. 28/1916	„		6 coins
28.	Veersigmani	„		8 „
29.	Vembavur	„		5 „
30.	Vene (South Arcot)	„		1 coin
31.	Vijayapura ¹	„		1 „

Class V, Group I, Variety a :—It is the same as 2. XI. b of Allan and V.XIII. 2 of the Amravati hoard. On its obverse the coin exhibits the marks of the sun, six-armed symbol (Pl.II, V. I. a) and three peaked-hill with three taurines. The fourth symbol is formed by four taurines put around a central dot.² The fifth is what is called 'double headed wreanch' flanked by the taurine from either side. The reverse symbol is blurred. The coin weighs 2.8234 grammes (43.56 grains). Thirty specimens of this variety are known. They have been found from the hoards as follows :—

I.	Amravati	hoard		19 coins
2.	Bahal	„		4 „
3.	Bhimalipatana	„		1 coin
4.	Gokulvan	„		1 „
5.	Mathura	„		2 coins
6.	Rothulapalam	„		1 coin
7.	Vizigapatam	„		1 „
8.	Nagpur Museum (unknown provenance)			1 „

The study of the coins of the present hoard shows that at the time the hoard was buried, various series of silver punch-marked coins were in

1. The Vijayapura hoard will be published by the present author.
2. See Pl. I. No. 16. Gupta (in the *AH*, p. 91) while classifying the coins of the Amravati hoard, has numbered the symbol what is called double headed wreanch as 257 which is a standing bull (cf. *AH*, Pl. III, No. 257). Suprisingly the symbol 284 (*AH*, Pl. III. No. 284) seems to be the same; but Gupta describes it as "object resembling, double headed wreanch" (cf. *AH*, p. 30, No. 284).

circulation in the market towns of all parts of India. Traders and merchants had the advantage of establishing trade relations with all parts of the country.¹ It is difficult to identify the minting places of these coins until and unless the reverse symbols are intensively studied. The hoard in question was probably a private collection.

CATALOGUE (of the Silver Punch-Marked Coins of the Bhelavar hoard).

S.No.	Class	Shape	size	Wt.		Ref.
			cm.	grammes	grains	
1.	I.I. a	Circular	2.1 × 2	3.4028	52.51	Pl.I.No.1.
2.	II.I. a	„	2. × 1.9	2.9540	42.58	„ No.2
3.	III.I. a	Rectangular	1.4 × 1.5	2.9453	45.43	„ No.7
4.	III.I a	Circular	1.8 × 1.6	3.1610	48.77	„ No.8
5.	III.I. b	„	1.5 × 1.5	2.8210	43.53	„ No.10
6.	III.I. C	Rectangular	1.4 × 1.5	2.8600	44.14	„ No.9
7.	IV.I. a	„	2. × 1.3	2.9575	45.62	„ No.4

1. The existence of a large number of ancient cities is variously described in the early Indian literature and old remains of many of these cities have been discovered in the excavations. We know from the Buddhist sources that during the pre-Mauryan times the favourite trade route of *Uttarāpatha* between Rājagṛha and Pratiṣṭhāna connected the cities of Māhishmatī, Ujjayinī, Gondaḍha (Gonārda), Vēdīśā (Vidiśā), Vahasavahya, Kauśāmbī, Sāketa, Śrāvastī, Vaiśālī and others. Jīvaka, the celebrated physician of Magadha, had travelled from Rājagṛha to Taxila by the same route. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* mentions the cities of Pāṭaliputra, Kāśī (Vārāṇasī), Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Kānyakubja, Mathurā, Ahichchhatra, Madhyamikā, Ujjayinī, Māhishmatī and others which flourished during his time (2nd century B. C.). The cities of Vārāṇasī, Kauśāmbī and Erakīṇā (Eran) stood on the main trade route between Pāṭaliputra and Ujjayinī. The modern Chalisgaon-Aurangabad-Paithan road formed the ancient southern trade route which connected Pratiṣṭhāna, Nasik, and the ancient city of Tagara (cf. *Ancient India*, No. 15, p. 66). These cities were important centres of trade and were minting coins. During the post-Mauryan times, we find the cities of Vārāṇasī, Kauśāmbī, Vidiśā, Erakīṇā (Eran), Bhāgila, Kurara, Ujjayinī, Tripurī, Māhishmatī and also probably Tagara issuing coins in their names.

8.	IV.I. b	Circular	1.5×1.5	2.5412	45.37	„ No.6
9.	IV.I. c	Rectangular	1.7×1.6	2.9060	44.84	„ No.5
10.	IN.I. d	„	1.8×1.5	2.8456	43.44	„ No.3
11.	IV.II. a	„	1.7×1.8	2.7960	43.14	„ No.12
12.	IV.II. a	Circular	2×1.8	2.6604	41.05	„ No.13
13.	IV.II. b	Rectangular	1.5×1.3	2.9149	44.96	„ No.14
14.	IV.III. a	„	1.6×1.5	3.1731	48.97	„ No.11
15.	IV.III. a	„	2×2.3	3.1408	48.57	„ No.15
16.	V.I. a	„	1.5×1.5	2.8234	43.56	„ No.16

ON TWO NEW HOARDS OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM ORISSA

S. TRIPATHY

(Pls. III-IV)

Numerous hoards and stray finds of silver punch-marked coins discovered throughout the length and breadth of India constitute the most extensive monetary system of this country in ancient times. Both European and Indian scholars have done valuable researches on the significance and typology of these coins, though many problems still remain unsolved.¹

On the basis of their symbols and fabric the punch-marked coins have been identified by scholars as 'Local' and 'Imperial' or 'Universal' issues. The two new hoards of these coins discovered in Orissa, which will be discussed in the following few lines, belong to the so-called 'Universal' type. The 'Universal' or 'Imperial' type of punch-marked coins have again been classified by scholars into 'pre-Mauryan' or 'early-Imperial' and 'later-Imperial' or 'Mauryan and post-Mauryan' series on the basis of their fabric and symbology, belonging to two different periods.²

Several hoards of a Universal type of the silver punch-marked coins have been discovered in Orissa by simple digging. Earlier these coins have been found at Asurgarh (Kalahandi district)³, Jagamara (close to Bhubaneswar in Puri district),⁴ Jharpada (also close to Bhubaneswar),⁵ Salipur (Cuttack district),⁶ Bahalda (Mayurbhanj district)⁷ and several

1. On symbols of these coins, cf. *JRAS*, (1924), Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*; *ASR*, 1905-06; Walsh, *Memoirs of ASI*, No. 59; Thomas, *Numismata Orientalia*, Part I; Durga Prasad, *JASB (NS)*, XLV; Allan's *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum (Ancient India)*; D. D. Kosambi, *JBORS* (1934) etc.
2. Cf. P. L. Gupta, *Punch-Marked Coins in the Hyderabad Govt. Museum*, pp. 63. ff.; *JNSI*, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 17. ff.
3. *OHRJ*, Vol. XIV, pp. 25. ff.; *JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 111-130.
4. Noticed, *ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *OHRJ*, Vol. XII, no. 3, pp. 125-160.
7. *JNSI*, Vol. II, pp. 123, ff.; Report of the Administration of Mayurbhanj State (1940-41); *Num. Suppl.* XLVII (1937) pp. 106: ff.

other places the findspots of which have not been recorded properly but which are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.

Out of the two hoards of the coins, which are brought to the notice of the scholars for the first time, one containing 334 coins of the 'Imperial' type silver punch-marked coins (henceforth called Hoard A) was discovered in 1970 by a group of labourers while digging a private plot of land at the village Pandia situated on the side of the Pandia-Jaugarh road in Ganjam district in Orissa. The Separate Rock Edict of Aśoka of Jaugarh is situated at a distance of about 3 kms. from the findspot of the hoard. The coins were found in an earthen pot at the time of their discovery. This hoard is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.

Another hoard (henceforth called Hoard B) of 360 coins of the 'Universal' type is also a treasure-trove find discovered in 1978 at Samantaraipur, a village situated at a distance of about 3 kms. from the new capital of Bhubaneswar. The ruined fort of Śiśupālgarh¹ is situated at a distance of about one kilometre from the findspot of this hoard. It was unearthed from a private plot of land and is now preserved in the State Museum, Bhubaneswar.

As regards fabrication and symbology of the coins of both the hoards, they are identical with those of numerous hoards of these coins found all over India and do not add much to our knowledge. The present paper is not concerned with a detailed description or classification of symbols on each coin of the two hoards, but attempts a few minute observations regarding their technique of manufacturing and the period of their circulation in Orissa. Considering the findspots of these coins, the hoards have their own importance.

Hoard A contains coins prototypes of which are also found in other hoards recorded by P. L. Gupta,² Durga Prasad³ and others. The heaviest coin in this hoard is 3.374 gms. in weight and the lightest is 2.283 gms. Although the obverse symbols on the heaviest coin are not very clear and are fragmentary in nature, its fabrication shows that it belongs

1. For Śiśupālgarh fort, see, *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 62-105. ff.
2. *Punch-Marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum; Amaravati Hoard of Silver Punch-Marked Coins, Etc.*
3. *JASB (Num, Suppl.)*, XLV, Pls. IX to XXI.

to the Mauryan, or 'Later Imperial' series. The lightest coin contains the well known obverse symbols and this type is found almost in every hoard discovered in other parts of the country. This coin is identical with the coin no. 54 illustrated by Durga Prasad.¹ On account of the fabric and the symbols on it, the coin may be attributed to the 'Early Imperial' series representing Sun, six-armed symbol, dog or hare on the five-arched hill, bull and elephant and various minute symbols on the reverse, some of which are actually the obverse symbols in their smaller forms. About 60% of the coins in this hoard belong to 'Later Imperial' series.

Hoard B contains about 60% of coins generally attributed to 'pre-Mauryan' or 'Early Imperial' series. They are of broad and thin fabric. Many of them are in extremely worn out condition. However, with the help of other published hoards they can be identified and assigned class, group or variety. Most of the symbols are identical with those found in the coin catalogues of the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum and the Amaravati Hoard of silver punch-marked coins and the rest are same as illustrated by Durga Prasad. The heaviest coin in this hoard is 3.319 gms. and the lightest is 2.467 gms. The obverse symbols on the heaviest coin are same as No. 40 of Durga Prasad's classification² and the lightest is same as No. 188 of the Karimnagar hoard.³

As these hoards contain both early and later Imperial series. Nothing can be positively said about their chronology or the time of their hoarding without any concrete evidence. Archaeological excavations at Sisupālgarh show that the silver punch-marked coins were in circulation in Orissa for a considerably late period to about 2nd-3rd centuries A. D. It is known from stratigraphic layers and associate finds that these coins were in use in South India as late as 5th century A. D. The silver *Pala* (*Rupya Pala*) referred to in many early medieval epigraphic records of Orissa, has aroused a controversy if any *Pala* type coin was in actual use during this period.⁴ D. C. Sircar has suggested that the silver *Pala* was regarded as the "standard calculation in monetary transaction in early

1. *Opcit*, Pl, XIV, no. 54.

2. *Ibid*, Pl, XII, no. 40.

3. P. L. Gupta, *Punch-Marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, p. 100.

4. A. K. Narain and L. Gopal (Ed), *The Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins*, pp. 140. ff,

medieval Orissa".¹ It is true that the silver *Śatamāna*, otherwise called *Pala*, weighed 320 *rattis* and was regarded as the standard currency, as suggested by Sircar. But we have not yet come across any silver coin weighing 320 *rattis* which was prevalent in early medieval period in Orissa. Besides, not a single silver coin conforming to any weight standard or any silver bullion has so far been discovered in Orissa, except several hoards of the usual type of punch-marked coins. We have also no evidence to show that the early medieval kings of different dynasties in Orissa issued any metallic coin for currency purpose.² It may be suggested that these punch-marked coins were in circulation even upto the 11th-12th centuries A. D. and were weighed and calculated in *Pala* standard of weight. The exact significance of the various symbols on the obverse and reverse of these coins was lost in the course of centuries; their high metallic value was of more importance to the people. They were regarded as bullion in monetary transaction along with other medium of exchange prevalent during this period.³

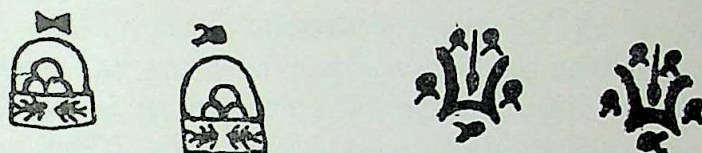
Though there is similarity in the obverse symbols on individual coins and their prototypes, the differences in the minute reverse symbols may suggest that these coins passed through various traders and moneyers at different time and places. It is also to be noted that different goldsmiths or silversmiths used different punching devices for a similar type of symbol on individual coins. This can be noticed from a careful examination of the individual coins belonging to the same class, group and variety of different hoards. We may take, for example, the symbol no. 112 of the Amaravati hoard which has been described by P. L. Gupta as "three arched hill enclosed in a *mandapa* with a dumb-bell at the top and a rectan-

1. *JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 140.

2. The term *Rupya-Pala* is frequently mentioned in the records of the Bhauma-Karas, the Somavamsis, the Bhañjas, the Tuṅgas, the Śulkis and several other feudatory kings of the early medieval period in Orissa. Cf. B. Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 50. *EI*, vol. III, pp. 340-44; S. N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. IV; S. Tripathy, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. VI; *EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 15-20; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 100. ff.; *JASB*, Vol. LXIV, part I pp. 123. ff. etc.

3. Other media of exchange were such as cowries, produces of the field etc, which were prevalent in ancient days in Orissa.

gular encloser at the bottom with two beetles (or fishes)". Similar symbols having a taurine instead of dumb-bell at the top, facing to left or right, are also found on a number of coins from different hoards. The hoards under discussion also contain two types of symbols. They cannot be taken as signifying two different varieties of the same symbols. There are several other instances, such as the Coin no. 186 of the same Amaravati hoard.¹ The taurine over the symbol has been depicted as facing to right and sometimes to left.



These two types of symbols are not possible with one and the same type of punching device. The symbol nos. 222 and 223 of the Amaravati hoard, which are also seen in several other hoards, are same and can be taken as one symbol. The only difference between the two is that the former is curved to the left, whereas the latter is to the right. This observation would also lead to the conclusion that the hoards of silver punch-marked coins, containing invariably coins of same variety with minute variations in their execution, were manufactured by different minters at different places.



As regards the importance of the findspots of the present hoards, it may be pointed out that several hoards of these coins were discovered earlier in the vicinity of the modern city of Bhubaneswar which has been identified by scholars as the ancient city of Tosali. It was a great centre of trade and commerce as evidenced by the discovery of several varieties of coins belonging to different periods starting with the punch-marked

1. There are several other examples of the use of different punching machines for the same type and variety of symbols, cf. the six-armed symbols with dumb-bell and taurine on two individual coins of same variety and group.

coins of both 'local' and 'universal' series.¹ During the reign of Aśoka the city of Tosali formed one of the headquarters of the north-eastern part of his empire. Another headquarter in Kalinga, during Asoka's time was Samāpā located near modern Jaugarh in the vicinity of which our Hoard A was found. A large number of copper imitation Kushāṇa or the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins have also been found in this area.² Thus it seems that Tosali and Jaugarh and the adjoining areas were trade centres since the days of Aśoka.

-
1. See, Śiśupālgarh excavations, *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. ff., also during 1968, a few 'local' Punch-marked coins of Kosala type and the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa were collected from the same site now preserved in the Museum. We have also informations from the local people that several thousands of silver Punch-marked coins were found near Samantaraipur and the old town of Bhudaneswar during the construction of the canal which is flowing near the site of the discovery of the hoard no. B. But the whereabouts of these coins are not known now.
 2. The *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* (1858), pp. 75-78.

A GOLD COIN FROM TILLYA-TEPE (AFGHANISTAN)

B. N. MUKHERJEE

(Pl. V. 1 & 1a-1b)

Recent excavations at Tillya-tepe in the neighbourhood of Emshi-tepe in the Shibarghan area (watered by the Ab-i-Safed or Safed Rud) of northern Afghanistan have unearthed graves of the Yueh-chih (or Scythian ?) people. The tombs have been sought to be dated, on the basis of numismatic evidence, to the period falling between c. 100 B. C. and A. D. 100.¹ About 20,000 gold objects have been so far recovered from the seven graves dug by the Joint Soviet-Afghan Archaeological Expedition led by V. I. Sarianidi.²

One of the gold objects is a roundish gold piece, which is apparently a coin. Sarianidi has published photographs of its obverse and

1. V. I. Sarianidi, "Ancient Gold From the Melting-Pot of Central Asia", *UNESCO Courier*, December, 1979, pp. 29-32; V. I. Sarianidi, "The Treasure of the Golden Mound", *Archaeology*, 1980, vol. XXXIII, no. 3, pp. 31-41.
2. *UNESCO Courier*, December, 1979, p. 29. According to Sarianidi, "numerous coins have been found in the tombs : a silver Parthian coin of Mithridates II (123-88 B. C.) and a silver coin found....in grave no. 6, (*identifiable as a*) Parthian (*coin of*) Phraates IV (38-2 B. C.). This last coin apparently had the seal preserved, showing Sapaleisis (*sic.*), one of the (*early*) Yüeh-chih rulers. A gold coin (*recovered from the same grave*). . was a local rendering of Parthian coins (*i. e. Parthian coin devices ?*) dating to the 1st century B. C.... Two unique pieces were also uncovered—a gold aureus of the emperor Tiberius.. and a gold Indian coin dating to the first century after Christ.... Based on the coin evidence the necropolis can be dated from the 1st century B. C. to the 1st century after Christ". (*Italics ours*) (*Archaeology*, 1980, vol. XXXIII, p. 40). The coin of Phraates IV, said to be carrying a "seal" showing "Sapaleisis", seems to be a piece counter-struck by a helmeted bust of the type appearing on the obverse of coins of Sapaleisis (or Sapadbizes ?) (P. Gardner, *The Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, pl. XXIV, no. 14). But it is not clear whether this particular bust represents Sapadbizes. Such Parthian coins with helmeted bust can be compared with similar pieces found at Begram (B. N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source—A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, p. 79; pl. III, nos. 1-6). The so-called "gold Indian coin" forms the subject of the present paper.

reverse in his preliminary report on the excavations printed in the *UNESCO Courier*, December, 1979.¹ But he has neither recorded its weight, nor its size. If the photographs are approximately of the size of the coin itself, about which there is no firm indication, the minimum and maximum measurements of its diameter are 2 cms. and 2.2 cms. Hence, though the intended shape for this coin was probably round, true roundness in form could not be obtained due to defect in the manufacturing technique employed in producing this die-struck piece.²

The coin can be described as follows :—

Obverse : A lion stands to l. (i. e. to his r.) with its mouth slightly open and tail upraised and the fore right paw half-raised; the so-called *tri-ratna* symbol appears in the lower left field and in front of the lion; Kharoshthī inscription (III)

(𑀘 or 𑀙 or 𑀚 or) 𑀭 𑀮 𑀯 (𑀭 or) 𑀧 𑀨 𑀩 𑀪 𑀫

i. e. *Bosahariga* (or *gra*) *dabh'a* (or *bhra* ?) *aspi* (or-*spo* or *špha* or *šphe* ?)⁴

Reverse : A bearded and naked (except for a strip of a garment on the right side of the hip) male figure standing or slowly walking to r. (i. e. to his left) and holding or slowly turning an elaborately decorated wheel with eight spokes radiating from a central hub and ten (or twelve ?) small objects, looking like fists, fitted to the outside of the rim of the wheel; an inscription appears in the upper right field. (Pl. V. 1 & 1a-1b)

The stylistic features of the figure of lion on the obverse are compa-

1. *UNESCO Courier*, December, 1979; *Archaeology*, 1980, vol. XXXIII, p. 39.
2. *UNESCO Courier*, December, 1979, page facing the page with the caption "Afghanistan".
3. For the reason for this type of defect, see B. N. Mukherjee, *Nanā on Lion—A Study in Kushāṇa Numismatic Art*, pp. 36 f.
4. The letter before-*spi* can be read as *bhra* or rather as *bh'a* (A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, pl. XXXIIIb).

rable with those of the figures of lion on several local coins of Taxila¹ and perhaps on some Scytho-Parthian pieces.² The bearded and naked male figure on the reverse may perhaps be taken as a representation of the Hellenic deity Herakles, well-known in the area now included in Afghanistan from the Hellenistic age. In that case, the strip of garment mentioned above may be recognised as part of his lion's skin. Naked and bearded Herakles is known to have been shown on *inter alia* coins of the Seleucids and Indo-Greeks as seated on lion's skin.³ On the coin in question Herakles is shown as holding (or turning) a wheel and not his club.⁴ The general appearance of the wheel, which looks like a rayed disc, is very favourably comparable with the wheel on several local coins of Taxila⁵ and with that held by Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa on a variety of coins of the Indo-Greek ruler Agathocles.⁶ Disc is a well-known attribute of Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu).⁷ The transfer of the disc of the latter to Herakles may allude to the fusion of the concept of Herakles with that of Kṛṣṇa in *inter alia* the area which produced the coin in question. Herakles was perhaps identified, in different contexts, with more than one Brahmanical deity.⁸ That one of these Brahmanical deities was Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) is suggested by the statement of Arrian, written on the authority of Megasthenes, that "Herakles was held in especial honour by the Sourasenoī, an Indian tribe who (*sic.*) possesses two large cities, Methora and Cleisobora".⁹ Methora or Mathurā, the capital of the Śūrasens country, became a well-known stronghold of the Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) cult long before the period of Arrian (died in A. D. 130) and perhaps by the time of Mega-

1. J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, pl. XXXII, nos. 17, 18 and 21.
2. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I, pl. XVI, no. 91.
3. P. Gardner, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, The Seleucid Kings of Syria*, pl. III, no. 2; pl. V, nos. 5 and 6; R. B. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pl. I, no. 8; etc.
4. See above n. 8.
5. J. Allan, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI, nos. 11-16.
6. *Revue Numismatique*, 1974, s. VI, vol. XVI, p. 13 and fig. 5.
7. J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (2nd edition), p. 131.
8. Herakles was identified in different contexts with Śiva and Kṛṣṇa. Recently a scholar has tried to identify Herakles with Indra (For references to different identifications, see A. Dahlquist, *Megasthenes and Indian Religion*, pp. 73).
9. Arrian, *Indika*, VIII, 4.

sthenes (who came to India during the Maurya age),¹ The coin concerned furnishes numismatic evidence of the identification of Herakles with Kṛṣṇa (Vishṇu).

An interesting inscription appears on the reverse. If it is read from the right—as in case of the Kharoshthī as well as the Aramaic script—the first letter may be recognised as Aramaic *beth* (*ba*), and the second and third letters can be read respectively as Aramaic *shin* (*s*) and *aleph* (*a*).² The sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth characters can be easily deciphered respectively as Aramaic *mem* (*m*), *lamedh* (*l*), *kaph* (*k*) and *aleph* (*a*).³ The fifth figure in the inscription is, however, not an Aramaic letter. It is Kharoshthī *bha* with subscript *r* and *anusvāra* below it. So it can be read as *bhram*.⁴ The next (seventh) figure is either Aramaic *taw* (*t*)⁵ or more probably Kharoshthī *pa* with subscript *r*.⁶ Hence the inscription, which seems to contain Kharoshthī as well as Aramaic letters

can be read as *Bs'bhrampra* (or *ta* ?) *MLk'* (𐭠𐭡𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨) (Fig. 1 and 1b)

The developed form of the letter *da* and the slightly mature form of the letter *sa* (with more than half of its mouth open) in the Kharoshthī inscription on the obverse may tend to date the coin to about late 1st century B. C. or early 1st century A. D.⁷ The palaeographic features of the Aramaic letters in the reverse inscription, which can be roughly compared with those of the Aramaic characters of the Avroman documents of the 1st century B. C.,⁸ are not against attributing the coin to the above noted age.

The reverse inscription means 'King Bś'bharmpra'. If the obverse inscription is correctly read as *Bosaharigadabh aaspi*, and if *i* cf *-aspi* is taken (following the custom in the middle Iranian language like Bactrian,

1. R. C. Majumdar (editor). *The Age of the Imperial Unity*, pp. 12, 61 and 433 f.
2. D. Diringer, *The Alphabet*, reprint, 1953, p. 305.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, pl. XXIIIb.
7. *Ibid.*, pls. XXIII a and XXIII b.
8. D. Diringer, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

etc.) as the sign for genitive inflexion,¹ the legend concerned can be translated as "of Bosaharigadabh'aaśpa".

The obverse inscription seems to refer to a proper name. Since the coin, which explicitly refers to one king, bears two proper names, one of these may be the personal name of the ruler and the other that of his co-ruler or of his family or tribe or a territory. However, since the expression "king" is associated with one name, the coin seems to have been issued by one single ruler. In that case the full legend may be translated as "of Bosaharigadabh'aaśpa, Bs'bhrāmpra-king". It appears that Bosaharigadabh'aaśpa was a ruler belonging to the family, tribe or area called Bś bhrāmpra.

As the only known coin of the ruler concerned is recovered from a graveyard of a people of nomadic origin at Tillya-tepe, he could have been a chief of a nomadic people and his territory (where his family might have been settled) could have been near that area. Palaeographic features of his coin legend would date him to the late 1st century B. C. or early 1st century A. D. We do not know whether he was affiliated to the Yueh-chih race or to one of the Scythin tribes, who had earlier ousted the Greeks from Bactria.²

These uncertainties, however, do not minimise the historical importance of this coin. This seems to be the first known gold coin bearing inscriptions in Kharoshthī and in Aramaic. The use of both the scripts in one full legend (as suggested above) and at least in the inscription on one side of the coin indicates an early stage of the development of an hybrid script consisting of letters from *inter alia* Aramaic and Kharoshthī in an area (or areas) now included in Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia.³ The use of Middle Iranian inflexion *-i* in the legend on the coin in question suggests that it was minted for circulation in a territory where a Middle Iranian language (Bactrian ?) was known.⁴ All these data mark out this piece as a unique gold coin.⁵

1. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1960, vol. XXIII, pp. 47 f.
2. Strabo, *Geographikon*, XI, 8, 2; B. N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source—A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, pp. 70 f.
3. This hybrid script was in full use in the Kushāna period (B. N. Mukherjee, "Observations on an Unknown Script", *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, vol. III, p. 20)
4. *BSOAS*, 1960, vol. XXIII, p. 52.
5. Our further observations on the script concerned are being published elsewhere.

THE PORTRAIT COINS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA KINGS

R. S. MORWANCHIKAR

(Pls. V-VI)

I

Pratishthanapura, modern Paithan in Aurangabad district, is well known as one of the earley cities of south India. It has an age long traditional and cultural inheritance to its credit. It was the renowned capital of the celebrated Sātavāhanas and remained a town of great consequence till the fall of the Peshwas. During its long span of history it had been the seat of intense political activity.¹

Because of its religious sanctity, its location on the banks of the Godavari and commercial potentialities, a number of early dynasties like the Nandas and Mauryas were attracted to it. The local finds of the punch-marked coins are suggestive of their association with this region.² The advent of the Sātavāhanas, the successors of the Mauryas in this region, opened a Kaleidoscopic chapter in the history of the city. During the long span of history it witnessed many ups and downs of the Sātavāhana dynasty. They rose to power in this region. They were driven out of this region by the Śaka Kshatrapas. Their powerful king Gaūtami putra Sātakarni exterminated the Śakas and the Kshatrapas from this region and reestablished their hold over the region. He introduced the silver coinage by restriking the silver coins of the Kshatrapa Nahapāna.³ His son and successor Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarni continued the silver issues and introduced the royal bust on the silver coins. Yajña Sātakarni was the last powerful monarch to retain his hold over the northern territory of Maharashtra. For more than three centuries Paithan was the capital of the Sātavāhanas. Hence it is no wonder if we get the coins of the Sātavāhanas in a large quantity. Shri Balasahab Patil a local art collector, has collected a number of such coins. Out of which he gave me three portrait finds to publish my views about these coins. One more

1. Our unpublished thesis, *Paithan Through the Ages*.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Two restruck coins from the collection of Shri Balasaheb Patil are already published.

portrait coin is received from Shri Rameshwar Parikh, a social worker of Paithan.¹

Though the Śātavāhanas were the first indigenous monarchs to issue silver coins, their silver portrait coins are extremely rare. Out of these, three portrait coins of Vāsishthiputra Pulumāvi,² four coins of Vāsishthiputra Sātakarni³, one coin of Śiva Śrī Pulumāvi,⁴ one coin of Khada Sātakarni,⁵ nine coins of Yajña Sātakarni⁶ and a single coin of Vijay Sātakarni⁷ are published. Our coins would be a welcome addition to those already published.

Out of these four portrait coins, two are to be assigned to Vāsishthiputra Pulumāvi, one coin to Vāsishthiputra Sātakarni and one to Yajña Sātakarni.

First coin of Vāsishthiputra Pulumāvi (Pl. VI. 1)

Silver. Round. Wt. 1.9 gms.

Obverse : Profile bust of the king facing right, frizzled hair properly dressed and tied, crest of jewel offering a side view and looking like a flower on his forehead (*Rāja-lāñchhana*), ear-rings in broad punched ears, prominent eyes, aquiline nose, lips properly closed, very youthful figure, surrounded by a legend in Prākṛit Brāhmi beginning at XII O'clock as—*Raño Vāsīthiputasa Siri Pulumāvisa*.

Reverse : Crescented Ujjain symbol and six arched *chaitya*, in between the two small-rayed suns, below the *chaitya* a wavy line surrounded by a legend in Brāhmi with some Dravidian dialect beginning at XII o'clock as—*Arhanasa Vahiṭṭhi Maka (nasa) Hiru Pulumavisa*.

1. Paithan is wellknown for its finds. The local collection is one of the best treasures of coins.
2. *JNSI*, Vol. XL, pt. I-II, 1978, pp. 13-17.
3. *Ibid*, XI, XXI, XXVIII, pp. 32-35.
4. I. K. Sharma, *Coinage of the Satavahana Empire*.
5. *JNSI* Vol. XL, pp. 1978.
6. *ASR*. 1913-14, p. 213, *JNSI* XVI, pp. 126-132.
7. I. K. Sharma, *Op. Cit.*
8. *JNSI*, Vol. XL, pt. I-II, 1978.

Second coin of Visishthiputra Pulumavi

Silver. Round. Wt. 1.9 gms. (Pl. VI. 2)

Obverse : As above.*Reverse* : The marks are not as bold as on the first, and the letters are worn out.

(1) On the basis of the above, it is clear that the first portrait is quite young than the second. The bulbous cheeks, resolved eyes, the shapely lower lip (generally the lower lip is slightly protruding) are suggestive of his youthfulness.

(2) The legend on the reverse is a mixed one. It has a close affinity with the Dravidian dialects, some letters are suggestive of its Dravidian nature.¹

(3) Generally we find *Thiru* as an attribution of Vāsishthiputra Pulumāvi but here we find *Hiru*.

(4) Formerly it was believed that Vāsishthiputra Pulumāvi issued the silver portrait coins late in his reign. The portrait on the first is suggestive of the fact that Vāsishthiputra Pulumāvi introduced these coins early in his reign.²

Coin of Vāsishthiputra Sātākarni : (Pl. VI. 3).

Silver. Round. Wt. 2 gms.

Obverse : Bust of the king to the right, hair properly tied with a bunch of pearls on the fore-head, bold and heavy earrings, aquiline nose, marginal legend in Prākṛit Brāhmī. *Rāno Vāsiṭhi Putasa Siri Sātakanisa.*

Reverse : Crescented Ujjain symbol, six arched *chaitya* with crescent in between the two small-rayed sun, below wavy line, marginal beaded line surrounding the legend in mixed Dravidian Brāhmī-script. *Vahitti-Makanasa... Tiru Hatakanisa—?*

1. *Ibid.*2. *Ibid.*

Coin of Gautamiputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarni. (Pl. VI. 4)

Obverse : Bust of the king to the right; a close fitting helmet, a curved line above the head indicates the position of the helmet; a bunch of pearls is attached to the helmet which towers like a rayed sun on his forehead; straight and pointed nose with round nostrils; punched ears with anchor type pendent almost touching the shoulders, surrounded by bold and clear legend in Prākṛit-Brāhmī beginning at VII O'clock as—*Rāno Gotami putasa Siri Yaña Sātakanisa*.

Reverse : Crescented Ujjain symbol with crescented six-arched *Chaitya*, rayed sun in between the two, below a wavy line, surrounded by a legend in mixed Dravidian Brāhmī which is surrounded by a beaded line as—*Ara....Hiru-Yaña Hatakaniku*.

The portrait depicts a boyish figure which suggests the youthfulness of the prince. Again the mint is quite fresh. A chisel mark on the reverse indicates its destruction at the hands of the local smith.

All the above finds strengthen the view that Pratiśṭhāna was the capital of the Sātavāhanas from early times to the rule of Yajña Sātakarni.¹

The portrait coin of Gautamiputra Yajña Sātakarni is a unique and welcome addition to the coinage of the Sātavāhanas. The centres like Paithan, Nasik, Ter should be tapped for further discoverise.

II

Marathwada University museum has a good collection of coins. Recently, the museum-keeper, Shri S. B. Deshmukh visited Nasik from where he collected the some portrait coins of the Sātavāhana kings. He collected them from an unknown person who himself recovered them from the ancient site on banks of the river Godavari. Here an attempt has been made to highlight the special features of the two portait coins in silver.

1. Author *Op. cit.*

Out of the two coins one may be assigned to Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi and the other to Gaṭtamiputra Yajña Sātakarni.

The coin of Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi (Pl. V. 2)

Silver. Round. Wt. 2 gms.

Obverse : Profile bust of a king facing right, wearing a wig of curly frizzled hair with shining crest jewel on the forehead as *rājalāñchhana*, and aquiline nose, ear-rings with long anchor type pendants, almost touching the shoulders, very prominent eyes, bulbous cheeks, erect and fleshy neck encircled by a legend in Prākṛit Brāhmi beginning at XII O'clock as—

Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri Pulumāvisa.

Reverse : Ujjain symol with crescented six-arched *Chaitya*, between these two a small rayed sun, a wavy line. Below the *chaitya* surrounded by a circular legend in mixed Brāhmi script and Dravidian dialect providing the name of the king and the title—however some of the letters are worn-out. The legend starts at XII O'clock as :

Arhanasha....Makanasha P....ulūmya.

Besides, there is a circular perforation at the top left, suggesting its use as a pendent at a later date like the Roman gold coin or bullae.

(1) On the basis of the earlier published coins of Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi, it was proved that Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri Pulumāvi was the first Sātavāhana monarch to introduce such type of bilingual and uniscriptual coins. The present coin and the portrait coins from Paithan, support the above theory.¹

(2) From the physical features of the bust it has been proved by Shobhana Gokhale that Vāsishṭhiputara Pulumāvi initiated these portrait coins early and not late as presumed by A. M. Shastri, in his regime. This portrait is in support of the above conclusion because the present bust displays the most youthful portrait of Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi.

1. *JNSI*, XL, Pt. I-II, 1978, pp. 13-17.

It is a nartistic exhibition of the royal youthfulness. His bulbous cheeks, fleshy and erect neck, the intact lower lip, the acquiline nose all are suggestive of the vigour of the rising prince.¹

(3) Because of the extreme scarcity of silver the portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas, it has been pointed out by scholars, were struck in limited number and were commemorative in nature. However, I. K. Sharma suggests that the basic factor that prompted the issue of silver coins by the Sātavāhana rulers was certainly political. Besides as a sequel to the annexation of the erstwhile Western Kshatrapa territories, the Sātavāhana rulers had to continue the silver currency to cater to the local needs.² This is the reason why we find unbroken succession of the portrait types right from Gautamiputra Sātakarni to Vijaya Sātakarni. Even their defeat at the hands of the Śakas did not pose any major threat to the Sātavāhana territory. The recent discoveries of the portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas in this region will strengthen the view that the coins were not issued merely for purpose of commemoration, and that the successors of Gautamiputra were able to maintain their hold over this part of the country.

(4) Most of the Sātavāhana coins published so far are reported either from Western Maharashtra or M. P. Therefore D. C. Sircar has suggested that the Śaka type silver coins of the Sātavāhana rulers were meant for circulation primarily in the Paithan-Nasik region which was conquered by Gautamiputra Sātakarni from the Śakas. The successors of Gautamiputra Sātakarni issued the silver coins on this basis. Even then the question of introducing the Dravidian dialect remains unanswered. To this Mrs. Gokhale argued that to differentiate their coins from those of the Śakas they might have used the Dravidian dialect just as the Greek dialects appear on the coins of the Śakas.³ But, the question will be what is the use of the dialect to the people who were completely unaware of the language. Another group of scholars opine that the Sātavāhanas were proud of their mother tongue which they presumed to be Telugu, their home country being Andhra Pradesh. However, the dialect seems to be Tamil and not Telugu. Hence this conclusion seems to be farfetched. I

1. *Ibid.*

2. I. K. Sharma *Op. cit.* pp. 107-122.

3. *JNSI, Op. cit.*

am inclined to believe that they tried to meet with the requirements of the people of both the coasts i. e. the western coast and the eastern coast. The people of the western coast were familiar with the bust types of the Śakas, hence the Sātavāhanas continued the imitation and they introduced the Dravidian i. e. Tamil dialect in order to appeal to their sentiments. During that period the territorial divisions were not so rigid as they are at present. Trade and commerce was in flourishing state during the period. It is possible that the Sātavāhanas maintained trade connections upto Kaveripatanam. It is because of this fact that Pulumavi could claim himself as *tri-samudra toya pīta vāhana* i. e. his cavalry was familiar with the waters of the three surrounding seas.¹ Dravidian language was in vogue in this region. Even this currency was carried over to the eastern countries. Thus Pulumavi met with the needs of the people of both the regions by introducing Prākṛit as well as Dravid dialects. Of course the matter is open for further discussion.

The silver portrait of Gautamiputra Yjña Sātakarni. (Pl. V. 3)

The present potrait coin of Gautamiputra Yajña Sātakarni is a significant addition to the existing silver portait coins of the Sātavāhanas. It is significant in the sense that the bust is displayed for the first time. Some of the features being identical of this king with the earlier one. The coin can be described thus :

Silver. Round. Wt. 2 gms.

Obverse : Bust of the king facing right, clean shaven head with few Śikhās (pancha) visible near the ear but the long tuft with the loop knot at the back (Kākapaksha); its ends are tied in a flower like fashion, the crest jewel on the forehead towering like a sun, ear-rings with anchor type pendent suspended from the long ears is almost touching the shoulder, broad eyes, resolve the bulbous cheeks, the pointed nose and the fleshy erect neck, surrounded by legend in Prākṛit Brāhmi beginning at XII O'clock as

Raño Gotami Putasa Siri Yaña Sātakanisa ?

1. *EI*, Vol. VIII p. 6.

Reverse : Crescented Ujjain symbol, crescented six arched *Chaitya*, between the two a small rayed sun, below, a wavy line, surrounded by a legend beginning at XII O'clock as
Gotamiputasa Hiru Yaña Sātakanisa ?

I. K. Sharma has ably analysed the various types of bust coins of Gotamiputra Siri Yaña Sātakarni. It is a unique bust. It is significant because it provides a glimpse of the physical features of Gotamiputra Śri Yajña Sātakarni. According to Sharma the coin type of Yajña Śri forms a distinct class and is noted for its technical excellence and perfect delineation of the monarch.¹

The present bust type is very impressive. The tuft is tied in a flower design, the ear holes and rings are prominently bold, the circular eye attracts the onlooker, the pointed nose without open nostrils (elsewhere the nose is not so pointed and nostrils are shown), the circular chin, the bulbous cheeks are fantastically attractive. The entire figure creates a massive impression on the onlooker. The present bust of Gautamiputra Siri Yajña Sātakarni is the earliest representation of his youthful days, hence I consider it to be a significant addition.

1. I. K. Sharma *Op. cit.* p. 119 (P-14 to 18).

NEW DISCOVERIES IN THE SĀTAVĀHANA COINAGE

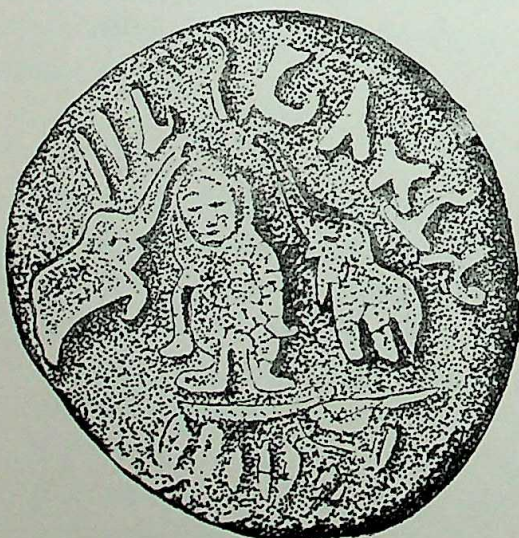
SHOBHANA GOKHALE

(Pls. VII-VIII)

Pratishthāna, the ancient capital city of the Sātavāhans, is a taluka in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra. It is situated on the left bank of the river Godavari. During the course of exploration at Paithan, I had an opportunity to see some Sātavāhana coins in the collection of Mr. Balasaheb Patil, who has keen interest in the Sātavāhana history. He has collected some coins from the ancient mounds which encircled the present city of Paithan. Mr. Balasaheb Patil permitted me to present these coins before the learned scholars.

Gajalakshmī type lead coin of King Satakarni II.

So far two *Gajalakshmī* type lead coins without any legend have been reported by Dikshit¹ from Paithan excavation. On the basis of stratigraphy they were assigned to Satakarni II. The present coin not only depicts Gajalakshmī but has retained a clear legend *Siri Satakanisa* on the obverse.



1. Dikshit, M. G.; *IAR*, 1965-66 p. 28.

The coin may be described as follows :—

Lead : Round : Diam 2.5 cm. : Thickness : 5 cm. Wt. 310 Grains.

Obverse : Lakshmī standing on lotus, on both the sides elephants are shown watering her with uplifted trunks. The marginal legend *Siri Satakanisa* in Brāhmī.

Reverse : It is completely occupied by tree in railing. (Pl. VII. 1)

Sātakarni II was the most illustrious king of the Sātavāhana house. His multi-symbol coinage bears resemblance to the coin-devices of the coins of the early rulers of Kauśāmbi and Ujjain. So far only one inscription of his period from Sāñchī¹ is known. The capital city of Pratiśthāna and other cultural centres like Bhogavardhana or modern Bhokardhana in Marathwada appear in the inscriptions of Sāñchī. It is interesting to note that Gajalakshmi device occurs on the copper coins of Avanti.² The most plausible explanation would be that Sātakarni II might have opted this coin-device after the annexion of Avanti region to his empire. Gajalakshmi motif occurs at Sāñchī and Junnar. It is well known that the Andhra kings had a special liking for lead as a material for currency and therefore instead of copper, lead was selected for this new coin-device.

Portrait coins of Gautamiputra.

So far nineteen portrait coins of Sātavāhana rulers are on record. Of these three are assigned to Vasishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi³, four to Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarni,⁴ one to Khada-Sātakarni,⁵ ten to Yaīñaśri,⁶ and one to

1. Buhler, G.; *Ep. Ind.* Vol II p. 88.
2. Smith, V. A; *Coins of Ancient India.* p. 153.
3. (i) H. V. Trivedi; *JNSI* pl. i-3; pl-1.2.
(ii) Dinkar Rao; *JNSI*, XXXVIII p. 12
(iii) Gokhale, Shobhana.; *JNSI*, XI. p. 13-17.
4. (i) Altekar, A. S.; *JNSI*, XI, pp. 59-63 pl. V-6 This coin is also referred to by K. Gopalachari in his *Early History of the Andhra Pradesh*.
(ii) Dinkar Rao; *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 9-10 pl. 1-4
(iii) Ramayya, S.; *JNSI*, XXVII, pp. 32-36 pl. II-6
(iv) Gupta, P. L.; *JNSI*, XXI, p. 109.
5. Gokhale Shobhana.; *Op. cit.*
6. (i-ii-iii); Rapson E. J. *BMC, AK*, p. 45; pl. VII. 178.
(iv) Bhandarkar, D. R.; *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 208, pl IXV. 22.

Vijaya Sātakarni.¹ Gupta published one portrait coin from Balpur and assigned it to Gautamīputra Sātakarni,² but the legend on this coin is not clear. Besides these portrait coins, re-struck silver coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarni³ and a silver coin of Sātakarni and Nāyanika⁴ are also known.

Out of the present three coins two have retained the name *Siri Satakanisa*, behind the neck of the king on the obverse. (Pl. VII. 2-3.)

The coins may be described as follows :—

Silver : Round. diam : 1.5 cm. : thickness 0.1. cm. : Wt. 31 grains.

The matronymic which is generally in front of the face is completely cut off. The third coin has retained the legend-*Sa-Putasa* in front of the face of the king. Hence, to which Sātakarni these coins can be attributed, is the enigmatic problem.

Gautamīputra Sātakarni was the most victorious king of the Sātavāhana family. It is well known that for the establishment of his overlordship, he issued horse type coins. His ten-arched hill coinage suggests his rule over ten territories. He successfully overthrew the Śaka threat. He recorded his victories in the Nasik inscription and called himself as *Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava-nisūdana*. As suggested by Sircar the Śaka type silver coins of the Sātavāhana rulers were meant for circulation primarily in the Nasik-Poona region which was conquered by Gautamīputra Sātakarni from the Kshaharāta Śakas. The present coins clearly show that Gautamīputra must have issued portrait coins for the people of this region to establish his rule on firm footing. It is well-known that the

(v) Katare, S. L.; *JNSI*, XII, pp. 127-133; pl. IX-10

(vi) Ranade, P. V.; *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 98.

(vii) Bajpai, K. D.; *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas*. p. 30

(viii) Gokhale, Shobhana,; *Op. cit.*

(ix) Maheshwari, K. K.; *Numismatic Digest*, III, i. pp. 1-3

(x) Unpublished, mentioned by P. L. Gupta in *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas* p. 61 in 116 (VII)

1. Gokhale, Shobhana,; *Numismatic Digest*, III np.

2. Gupta, P. L.; *JNSI*, XXI, p. 102 ff.

3. Altekar, A. S.; *JNSI*, VIII, 111-113; pl. VII. 5, Scott, Rev. H. R. *JBBRAS*, XXIV, 1907, pp. 223-224.

4. Chinmulgund, P. J.; *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 6-11.

Sātavāhana rulers for their silver coins adopted the weight-standard, fabric, device and bilingualism of the Western Kshatrapa coins. But the Sātavāhana coins do not show any slavish imitation. It is, therefore, obvious that Gautamīputra Śatakarni was the first ruler who modelled his coins after the coins of Nahapāna.

While discussing the extreme scarcity of silver portrait coins of Sātavāhana rulers, Rao¹ has rightly observed that the silver portrait coins were struck in limited numbers and might be of commemorative nature, issued after some important event.

On the basis of these three coins, it could logically be concluded that, to commemorate his glorious victory over the Śakas Gautamīputra might have issued silver portrait coins.

On the re-struck silver coins by Gautamīputra the Ujjain symbol was put as a mark of victory. This symbol again appears invariably by the side of Chaitya on all the known portrait coins.

It was generally believed that the portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas have been found so far only in the northern and central parts of the Sātavāhana kingdom. The discovery of these three coins at Paithan has offered a new unique evidence to reconsider the earlier speculations.

The Sanskrit Prakrit legend, which was the language of the people, was used on the obverse and to differentiate his coins from those of the Kshatrapas, Gautamīputra exhibited Dravidian character by using an admixture of Dravidian language and alphabets.

On the basis of the portrait coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi reported to date, it was considered that Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi was the first Sātavāhana ruler who initiated bilingual and biscriptual coins. But the present coins show that it was Gautamīputra who initiated bilingual and biscriptual coins.

Lastly, the portraiture on these three coins is entirely different from those on the so far known portrait coins.

1. Dinkar, Rao.; *op. cit.*, p. 12

On the basis of this positive evidence, these three coins can be assigned to Gautamiputra Sātakarni.

It must be stated here that I found one silver portrait coin of Yajñaśri. In addition to these coins I found a terracotta mould which contains three sockets for portrait coins (Pl. VIII. 2). When we put plasticene in them they revealed three different portraits of Yajñaśri (Pl. VIII. 3-5). They show young, middle aged and old portrait of the king Yajñaśri.

The Purāṇas invariably assign Yajñaśrī a long reign. The China inscription¹ of Yajñaśrī is recorded in the 27th year of his reign. These Puranic as well as epigraphic evidences are corroborated by this new numismatic evidence. It is interesting to note that these three moulds display three different hair-styles of the king. The young portrait of Yajñaśrī shows as *Dhīrodātta*. The middle aged portrait displays *Kākapaksha* hair-style of a soldier and the portrait of the old king has depicted frizzled hair-style. Probably it might be a wig. The mould has preserved the negative of the obverse with clear legend.

Two coin sockets are joined by a channel for the molten metal. A unique clay mould intended to produce the reverse of the portrait coin is reported from the excavated early historical levels at Nagarjunikonda.²

The moulds have retained the legends as follows :—

Young Portrait :—*Sara yaña Satakanasa raño Gotamiputasa*

Old Portrait :—*na Satakanasa raño Gotama*.

Elephant rider Coin of King Yajñaśri

The coin may be described as follows :—

Copper : Round : Dia. 1.7 X .70 cm : Wt. 2.10 grammes.

Obverse : Elephant with trunk having the king sitting in Hauda and holding *Aṅkuśa* : marginal legend in Brāhmi : *Yana Satakanas*.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with pellet. (Pl. VIII. 1)

1. Buhler, J.; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 95-96.

2. Sharma, I. K.; *The Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire* 1980. p. 117.

Rapson¹ has noted this variety of coin of Yajñaśrī. Unfortunately the specimen which he noted was not in good condition. This is for the first time that a copper coin of Yajñaśrī displays the elephant rider and thus adds a notable evidence to the Sātavāhana coinage.

All the above mentioned coins are from Paithan. These varieties of coins suggest that Paithan might be a minting centre. The hamlets around Paithan are significant and suggest different market sectors. They are locally known as Tandulwadi (Rice lane), Chanakawadi (gram lane), dal-wadi (Pulses-lane,) Narala (Coconut lane) and panjana (Textile lane) etc.

1. Rapson, E. J.; *Catalogue of the Andhra Dynasty, Western Ksatrapas. The Traikutaka Dynasty, and the Bodhi Dynasty*. 1908. p. 44 no. 177

MEANING OF THE SYMBOLS ON EARLY INDIAN COINAGE

BHASKAR CHATTERJEE

The coin-symbols in common use till the early centuries of the Christian era include animal-figures, tree-in-railing, solar and lunar symbols, mountain, river, taurine, nandipada, triratna or trisūla, swastika, double triangle, caduceus, bow and arrow, "Taxila mark" (equal armed cross, tipped with four circles enclosing dots), "Troy mark" (three chhatras or arrow heads interspaced with ovals about a central circle), pile of balls and even human figures.¹ Attempts have been made to explain the coin symbols from Buddhistic, t̃āntric and Brahmanical point of views.² Attempt has also been made to furnish a Jaina interpretation of the symbols in question.³ But it would be reasonable to assume that all religious sects drew upon a common storehouse of symbols and conventional devices.⁴ The existence of common storehouse of symbols may be traced in the gradual evolution of religious beliefs from the stage of savagery through the age of barbarism to that of civilization.

The seals of the Chalcolithic age which ushered in the age of human civilization often depict symbols and designs of various character. The symbols on the seals of Mohenjodaro and Harappa include a crocodile, a humped-bull, an elephant, an animal figure before a tree-in-railing, a "fish-sign", a collection of human figures, a thunderbolt or an axe, taurine, squares, circles, birds, plants, snake, cross, swastika and granary with standing arrow-headed staff by its side. These pre-historic pictograms or symbols may be traced in various devices and designs used on the punch-marked coins.⁵ It may lead us to assume the survival of some elements of the Chalcolithic culture through the symbols used on early indigenous coinage.

1. A. K. Coomaraswami, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1965, p. 45.
2. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta University, 1956, p. 108, fn. 1 and p. 109 ff.
2. *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. IV, Pt. II, pp. 116-26.
4. V. A. Smith, *The Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, p. 6.
5. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1935, p. 307 ff. *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1934, *Num. Suppl.*, Plates 28-30.

The symbols, once devised to give expression to particular religious beliefs, continued to be so used. The trident or the trisūla-symbol, which is known to have played a significant role in Indian iconography, may be traced in the trident-symbol on the head of the "Lord of beasts" depicted on a seal of Mohenjodaro.¹ The solar symbol which occupies the most prominent position among the symbols on the punch-marked coins may be traced on a pottery of the Neolithic age discovered from Piklihal.² Further, the rock paintings at Singanpur (Raigarh area) and Sitakhardi (Chambal valley) depicts the solar symbols. Arguments have been put forward by scholars to assign the rock paintings to the primitive age.³

It seems that the animistic consciousness of the primitive mind played a significant role in evolving the symbols that represented the objects of nature, the flora and the fauna. Most of the art remains of the Palaeolithic age, so far discovered in the countries of Southern Europe and of Africa, are found in the cave paintings, often depicting animals in a hunting scene. The animal-figures, no doubt, represent the temistic animal-cults and hunting magic. At the Neolithic stage, the adoption of farming life naturally roused in man a new interest in the sun, the water, the earth and its vegetations.⁴ The excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa brought to light the remains of the Chalcolithic culture in which recognition was given to Mother-goddess and Father-god, but the continuity of the primitive tradition is to be found in the worship of the tree, the animals and the water.⁵

Art remains of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic ages, being few and far between in India, we may have to adopt an anthropological approach to trace the primitive religious beliefs. The survival of the Austric and Dravidian cultures may be traced in the religious beliefs and practices of the aboriginal tribes. The Santhals, who belong to the Austric stock, believe that the natural phenomena and the animals are imbued with the spirit called "Bongā." Again, the Oraons, who belong to the

1. J. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, p. XII, Fig. 17.

2. F. R. Allchin, *Piklihal Excavations*, pp. 26-77.

3. D. H. Gordon, *The Pre-historic Background of Indian Culture*, Vol. I, P. XII, Fig. 17.

4. Hawkes and Woolley (Ed.), *Pre-history and the Beginnings of Civilization, History of Mankind*, Vol. I, UNESCO, 1963, p. 335.

5. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, pp. 48-78.

Dravidian group, similarly call the spirit behind all natural objects "Nād". This animistic belief is also held by other aboriginal tribes in India.¹

The presiding deity of the Santhals is the "Great Mountain" although the Sun (*Siñboṅgā*) represents the highest spirit. They worship spirits of every sort and regard beasts as divine. The Oraons also recognise the supreme god in the sun. It is significant to note that almost all the aboriginal tribes worship snakes and trees.² We find out thus a remarkable unity between primitive and civilized religion.³ In spite of the fact that the primitive tribes deify various natural phenomena, they seldom make use of images representing their deities. The aniconic tradition along with animistic belief seems to have inspired the primitive people in the past ages to evolve the symbols representing their religious beliefs.

The truth regarding the continuity of the aniconic tradition among a large section of the Indians even after the acceptance of iconism is quite evident.⁴ The practice of symbol-worship seems to have continued till the growth of the Bhakti movement to such a mature stage as to give rise to different cults for which images of deities were essential. The symbols on early Indian coinage seem to have been handed down from the pre-historic to the historic age and their use was continued till they were associated with and sometimes replaced by the anthropomorphic representation of the divinities. In the historic age, use of the symbols was liberally made by different religious sects, as if they drew upon a common store-house of symbols and conventional devices.

1. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 421-432.
2. E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, Delhi, 1970, pp. 530-532.
3. J. Ferguson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Plates and Figures.
4. J. N. Banerjea, *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE ON THE EXTENSION OF SĀTAVĀHANA RULE IN CENTRAL INDIA

K. D. BAJPAI

In the history of Ancient India the Sātavāhanas are primarily regarded as a South Indian power. They ruled over South India for a considerable long time after the decline of the Imperial Mauryas. Several scholars have written about the Sātavāhana chronology and genealogy. The source material for this has mostly been furnished by the Purāṇas and some other literary texts. The epigraphic records and coins of the Sātavāhanas and their contemporaries and scanty information of the foreign writers also help in reconstructing the Sātavāhana history.

The recent archaeological field-work conducted in some parts of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh has brought to light new evidence of significance in the form of a few inscriptions, a good number of coins and relics of plastic art. The new sites in the Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, Nevasa, Pitalkhora and Mundhal in Mahārāshtra and Vidiśā, Nandūr, Tripurī, Tumain and Malhār in Madhya Pradesh deserve special mention here.

In Andhra Pradesh some important discoveries have recently been made. Of particular interest are some rare coins obtained from a site near village Kota-Lingla on the river Godavari, about 60 kms. from the district headquarters of Karimnagar. For the first time several coins of king Chhimuka, believed to be the originator of an important branch, have been discovered at that site. Other Sātavāhana rulers, whose coins have been found there, are Sātakarṇi and king Sātavāhana. Names of king Gobhadra, Svāmi Gopa and Srī Nārāyana, etc. have also been deciphered on several other coins from that area. Some of the new coins have been published by P. V. Parabrahma Sastry of the State Department of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh.¹

The excavations conducted under the direction of the present author at Tripurī (district Jabalpur), Tumain (district Guna) and Malhār

1. *Numismatic Digest*. Bombay, Vol. II, pp. 10-21.

(district Bilaspur) in Madhya Pradesh by the Sagar University have brought to light some significant data bearing on the Sātavāhana history. At Tripurī several coins of the Sātavāhana rulers and a good number of coins and sealings of the Bodhi kings and of the kings with *Sena*-ending names have been obtained. The excavation at Tripurī has shown that the Dāhala region was under the Sātavāhana occupation for a considerable time during the early centuries of the Christian era. Some of the Bodhi kings seem to have ruled a little before the occupation of the region by the Sātavāhanas. A more definite chronological position of the Sātavāhana-Bodhi-Sena rule in the Tripurī region is yet to be determined.¹

Two interesting coins from the Tripurī excavation bear the Brāhmī legend '*raño Siri Sātasa*'. The stratified evidence has shown that the coins can be assigned to the first century B. C. I think that the king known from these coins can be identified with Śaktiśrī or with the Sātavāhana ruler referred to as No. 6 in the Purānic lists. He issued both square and circular types of coins. This king ruled for a fairly long time, as is attested to by the early Purānas corroborated by his numerous coins discovered in several parts of the country.²

A remarkable acquisition from the Tumain excavation is that of a punch-marked square (1.6 × 1.4 cm) copper coin bearing the legend *raño Siri Sātasa*.³ The legend is punched on the coin. Other punch marks on the coin represent the symbols of elephant, *Shadārachakra*, *nandipāda* and lotus.

This new punch-marked coin from Tumain can be compared with similar coins of Sātakarṇi I and of a few other rulers known from Vidiśā, Nandūr and Nānder in Madhya Pradesh.⁴

The field-work at Malhār (district Bilaspur) has also been rewarding in this regard. Previously, a coin of the Sātavāhana ruler Āpilaka was found at Balpur in the Raigarh district of Madhya Pradesh. A few other Sātavāhana coins from the same site were later reported. At Malhār

1. About the Bodhis See K. D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies* (Delhi, 1976), pp. 159-66, Plate X.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 114-17, plate VIII.
3. Sagar University Museum, no 244.
4. Bajpai, *Op. cit.* pp. 114-15.

has been found a Brāhmī inscription of the 2nd Century A. D. assignable to the Sātavāhana regime during that period, over the Chhattisgarh area. The excavations at Malhar have confirmed that the town of Śarabhapura, later known as Mallāla-Pattana (the old name of Malhār) was well-planned during the early centuries of the Christian era. The houses were made of typical baked bricks and the pottery of the period was designed with stamp marks. The *garhī* area of Malhār represents the old citadel with fortification of mud wall all around. Several Sātavāhana copper coins with the elephant symbol have been recovered from the excavation at Malhār.

Besides Malhār, inscriptions of the Sātavāhana period have been found at Gunjī, Kirārī, Konār, Semarsāl, Bālod, Durg and some other sites in Chhattisgarh.

As regards eastern Malwa, the earliest Sātavāhana stone inscription has been found on the southern gateway at Sāñchī referring to construction of the structure by a minister of Sātakarṇi I. I agree with Bühler in assigning a date in the 2nd Century B. C. to king Sātakarṇi of this inscription.¹

A punch-marked square copper coin of Sātakarṇi I from Vidiśā has been published by me. The archaic characters of the Brāhmī legend on the coin are similar to those of the Sāñchi inscription of that ruler.²

Some more punch-marked coins of Sātakarṇi I and of Siri Sāta are now known from Vidiśā, Jamuniā, Nandūr, Nānder and Tripurī. The valleys of the Narmadā and the Betwā have produced some important punch-marked, die-struck and cast coins of the Sātavāhanas. In point of time these coins can roughly be bracketed between c. 150 B. C. and c. 150 A. D.

From Ujjain and Āvarā copper cast coins of the Sātavāhanas are known. A silver coin of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was reported from Ujjain.³

The available evidence clearly indicates that the crucial region of eastern Malwa came under the occupation of the Sātavāhanas some time

1. G. Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II pp. 88-9. See also Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 271 ff. (inscription no. 190); Majumdar. R. C. (Ed). *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 197-8.
2. Bajpai, *Op cit.* pp. 114-15.
3. *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, p. 111 ; Vol. IX, pp. 93-4.

in the middle of the 2nd century B. C. during the reign of Sātakarni I. How long the occupation lasted is difficult to say.

As regards Western Malwa (Avanti) it came under the Sātavāhana occupation sometime in the beginning of the 2nd century A. D. during the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarni. The struggle for power between the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas continued for some time. It seems that a little before the middle of the 2nd century A. D. the Sātavāhanas had to shift to the regions east and south-east of Malwa.

The vast area of South India across the Narmadā, however, remained under them almost continuously. These facts are confirmed both by the epigraphic and numismatic evidence.

The foregoing brief discussion would indicate that from about the middle of the 2nd century B. C. to almost the end of the 2nd century A. D. The Sātavāhana hegemony was spread, during different sub-periods over extensive parts of Central India, north of the river Narmada.

A NOTE ON THE RHINOCEROS TYPE COIN OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

Y. B. SINGH,

Coins, as is well known, form one of the most important source for knowing the past. Very often they not only reflect the socio-economic conditions of the times but also shed light on the territorial jurisdictions of the kings or the issuer of that type of coin. So far as social conditions are concerned, they present a picture of the various facts of social life including religious beliefs and practices, dresses and ornaments, military accouterments and even other predilections of the ruling chief. Economically, the large number of gold coins hitherto found in various parts of the country and belonging to numerous dynasties furnish information about the flourishing conditions prevailing in the country. Yet, in some cases, they also indicate and corroborate some positive historical occurrence gleaned from literature and epigraphs. It is well known that the mighty emperor Chandragupta II conquered the western regions and restructured the silver currency of the Śakas which was mostly prevalent in areas ruled by them.¹ The Mehrauli Pillar inscription refers to his western conquest as far as the seven mouths of the Indus and even upto Bāhlika whose identification is a matter of controversy.²

Chandragupta II, according to the inscriptions referred to above, defeated a confederacy of kings in the east and extended his empire upto the Lauhitya river.³ This indicates that his empire extended from parts of Assam in the east to the western seas as stated in the said inscription. His conquest of western India is also proved by numismatic evidence as he issued the Lion-slayer type of coins which were not issued by his illustrious father, Samudragupta. Now, lions are to be found only in certain areas of Gujarat, though their depredations in parts of south western Rajasthan were also known in medieval times. Thus these coins very well affirm the conquest of Gujarat by Chandragupta II.

1. Majumdar, R. C. (ed), *The Classical Age*, p. 19.

2. *Ibid*; p. 20 fn. 2.

3. Fleet, J. F., *C I I*, Vol. III, p. 141. [This river is not mentioned at all in the said inscription. Only Vaṅga is mentioned. T. P. V.]

Chandragupta II did not issue any coin which might relate to his eastern conquest. But his son and successor, Kumāragupta I issued as many as 14 types of gold coins, besides issuing silver and copper ones as well. One of his coins, popularly known as the Rhinoceros-slaying type is worthy of special attention.¹ Though Kumāragupta I also issued the Aśvamedha type of coins, signifying performance of Aśvamedha, no epigraph informs us of any conquest or military expedition undertaken by that king during his long reign (415-455).² He seems to have ruled peacefully and rested on the laurels of his famous father. The question is what was the purpose and significance of issuing this particular type of coin by that emperor ?

It is well known that rhinoceros is to be found either in eastern India i. e. Assam or in Nepal. Since Nepal is nowhere referred to as forming part of the Gupta empire and is only known as a frontier kingdom in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta,³ we may rule out its conquest at any stage by the mighty Guptas. Otherwise its conquest would either have been referred to in any one of the epigraphs hitherto discovered or by the Chinese pilgrims. We may, therefore, presume that the coins under discussion reflect some sort of martial attainment by Kumāragupta I in the eastern region where the rhinoceros is to be found in plenty even today.

It may be argued that these parts had already been conquered by his father, as referred to in the Mehrauli Pillar inscription, but it is significant that Chandragupta II commemorated his western conquest with the issue of Lion-slayer type of coin, but so far no coin of his has come to light depicting him as slaying a rhinoceros. Even the epigraphic evidence says that he 'defeated a confederacy of hostile chiefs in Vaṅga which would suggest that some chiefs in eastern India had rebelled and were suppressed. We cannot, on the evidence at hand, ascribe the conquest of parts of Assam to Chandragupta II.

Now Kumāragupta, on numismatic evidence stated above, performed a horse sacrifice. The mere performance of this sacrificial ritual

1. Altekar, A. S.; *Corpus of Indian Coins*, Vol. IV, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire* pp. 167-239.
2. Majumdar, R. C., *Op cit.*, p. 24.
3. Fleet, J. F., *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

indicates some sort of martial activity or conquest on the part of that ruler. We know of no other conquest made by him from any other source. It has recently been suggested that Kumāragupta I made certain conquests towards the Narmada Valley and in order to commemorate that victory he performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice.¹ But such a suggestion goes against the combined testimony of the Bhitari and the Junagarh inscriptions. Besides, there was also the Vākāṭaka empire which was closer to the area alluded to have been conquered by Kumāragupta I.² There is also no evidence whatsoever to suggest that there was any armed conflict between the Vākāṭakas and the Gupta emperor. All his inscriptions and grants are silent about of his conquests in that direction. The only clue that could satisfactorily explain his performance of the horse sacrifice may be found in his issue of this particular type of coin under consideration.

Kumāragupta I would certainly have tried to emulate his father by some fresh conquests in the early days of his rule. There was no scope for expansion towards west which had already been conquered by his father. The eastern chiefs on the other hand had only been subdued by Chandragupta II. Kumāragupta I would certainly have tried to extend his dominions in the east. He seems to have been successful in the enterprise and in order to commemorate that event he not only performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice but also issued a fresh type of coins in the same way as his father had done by issuing the Lion-slayer type of coins. This argument would tend to prove the justification of issuing the Rhinoceros type of coins and also explain the significance of his *Aśvamedha* sacrifice.³

Something may be said about the history of Kāmarūpa during the the days of the Imperial Guptas. The first historical ruler, Pushyavarman owed allegiance to Samudragupta.⁴ He even went to the extent of naming his son Samudravarman after the name of Gupta emperor and the analogy was further carried in the name of latter's (Samudravarman's) queen who

1. Chattopadhyaya, S. *Early History of North India*, pp. 177-78

2. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

3. Altekar, A. S., *Op cit.*, pp. 167-239

4. Fleet, J. F., *Op. cit.*, p. 8, The genealogy of Kāmarūpa Kings puts Pushyavarman as the contemporary of Samudragupta. Cf. Nidhanpur grant of Bhaskaravarman, *E I*, XII, p. 73.

was named Dattadevī or Dattavatī.¹ This is a clear case of naming the heir apparent in the name of the liege-lord and there are instances of such a practice being followed in ancient India by several dynasties. Now, Samudravarman was succeeded by Balavarman and Kalyāṇavarman and the latter by Gaṇapati-varman. Again we find that Gaṇapati-varman named his son Mahendravarman.² Now, Gaṇapati-varman seems to have been a contemporary of Kumāragupta I whose another title was Mahendrāditya. The Mehrauli Pillar inscription clearly indicates a trouble brewing on the eastern borders and the same may have continued in the early years of the reign of Kumāragupta. Presumably Gaṇapati-varman tried at first to free himself from the Gupta subservience, but was humbled by Kumāragupta I and had to resort to the earlier practice of naming his son and successor Mahendra-varman after the name of his overlord. Kumāragupta I thereafter issued the type of coin in question and also performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice.

1. *E I* XII, p. 73; Majumdar, R. C., *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

2. *Ibid.*

THE PLACE OF KĀCHA IN GUPTA CHRONOLOGY

ASHVINI AGRAWAL

A number of gold coins¹ discovered in the hoards of Gupta coins bear the name Kācha. These have given rise to one of the most intricate problems of the Gupta history. Only one variety of Chakradhvaja type of these coins was known to numismatists till the Bayana hoard supplied specimens of Garuḍadhvaja type. They resemble the Standard type of Samudragupta's gold coins and considering their fabric and material they are to be assigned to the early Gupta period. On the obverse of these coins the name Kācha is written under the left arm of the king and the circular legend reads *kācho-gām = avajitya-divaṁ-kar-mabhiruttamair-jayati* and the reverse has the legend *Sarva = rājochchheṭā*.

The attribution of these coins is a much debated topic as we do not find a king of this name either in the official genealogies of the Guptas or from any of their inscriptions. Kācha has been variously identified with Ghaṭotkacha the father of Chandragupta I by Prinsep, Thomas² and S. K. Aiyangar;³ with Samudragupta by Fleet,⁴ Smith,⁵ Allan,⁶ H. C. Ray-Chaudhuri,⁷ Mirhi,⁸ R. K. Mookerji,⁹ etc; with a foreign invader by B. S. Sitholey;¹⁰ with brother of Samudragupta who died in a war of independence; with Kshānas by R. D. Banerji;¹¹ with Rāmagupta by D. R. Bhandarkar¹² and A. S. Altekar;¹³ with Kācha of the Ajanta Cave inscrip-

1. There are six coins of this type in the British Museum, three in the Indian Museum, Calcutta; five in the Lucknow Museum and 16 were discovered in the Bayana hoard. *Coinage of Gupta Empire* by A. S. Altekar, 78.
2. *Ibid*, 79.
3. *Studies in Gupta History*, 31.
4. *CII*, II.
5. *IA*, 1029.
6. *Catalog of the coins of Gupta Dynasty*, XXXIII.
7. *Political History of Ancient India*, 470-71, 4.
8. *JNI*, X, 90.
9. *Gupta Empire*, 17.
10. *SIKII*, 38-40.
11. *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, 9-10.
12. *Malviya Commemoration Volume*, 189 f.
13. *JNS*, IX, 131 ff. and *Coinage of the Gupta Empire* 86-87.

tion by Buddha Prakash;¹ and with a rebel brother of Samudragupta who contested for the throne by H. Heras,² R. N. Dandekar,³ P. L. Gupta,⁴ B. P. Sinha⁵ and S. R. Goyal.⁶ However, none of the arguments put forward so far has been able to clinch the issue and no fresh evidence on the point has come to light. The question has been reopened by Vijay Kumar Thakur in the 1977 issue of this journal,⁷ who following S. R. Goyal, has tried to identify Kācha with a rebel brother of Samudragupta.

V. K. Thakur has argued, like many previous scholars, that numismatically Kācha cannot be identified with Samudragupta as the coins of Kācha have more foreign influence than those of Samudragupta. He maintains that in Chandragupta—Kumāradevi type, the king is shown holding a crescent-topped standard, on Kācha coins it is wheel-topped and on the coins of Samudragupta the standard is surmounted by Garuḍa which points to "typological changes in the sequence".⁸ The appearance of the Garuḍa standard on a Kācha coin, which has been ignored by Thakur, completely demolishes his theory of typological changes. We may further draw attention to the fact that the coinage of Chandragupta I and the Standard type of Samudragupta depicts the goddess sitting on a throne while on Kācha coins she is shown standing in a graceful manner holding a flower in her right hand. This further Indianisation of the Gupta coinage definitely puts Kācha coins after the Standard type of Samudragupta as has been already pointed out by A.S. Altekar.⁹ Further, the coins of the Standard type of Samudragupta have the legend *Samara-śata-Vitata-Vijayo jitaripur=ajito-divam jayati*.¹⁰ This indicates that the Standard type of coins, which refer to his victories in hundreds of battles, were issued late in his reign after the conquests of the south and north India by Samudragupta.¹¹ Thus, the Kācha coins should be assigned to a still later

1. *Aspects of Indian History and Civilisation*, 80 ff.
2. *ABORI*, IX, 83 ff.
3. *A History of the Guptas*, 40 f.
4. *JNSI*, XII, 36-37; and *Gupta Sāmrajya*, 243 ff.
5. *Comprehensive History of Bihar*, I, II, 14 ff.
6. *History of the Imperial Guptas*, 191 ff.
7. *JNSI*, XXXIX (1977), 108-13.
8. *Ibid.*, 112.
9. *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, 84.
10. *Ibid.* 47-48.
11. This was first pointed out by Prof. Dashrath Sharma, *JNSI*, XXVIII, 62-93.

period and were probably issued after the Standard type by Samudragupta himself as the legend *Sarvarājochchhettā* indicates.

Let us examine the evidence at our disposal afresh. The coins of Kācha have on obverse the legend *Kāchogāma vajītya divan-karmabhiruttamairjayati*, and on the reverse the most significant epithet *Sarvarājochchhettā*. According to the obverse legend Kācha claims to win the heaven by means of his excellent deeds after having conquered the earth. This would mean that Kācha had obtained the actual sovereignty of the earth and had performed many a pious deed such as the performance of Vedic sacrifices like Aśvamedha as also by giving away in charity large number of cows and substantial amount of gold. We must also remember that this legend is to be met with for the first time on the coinage of Kācha and Samudragupta. There is no earlier precedence either in the Gupta dynasty or any other ruling family. It would, therefore, imply that Kācha was not summarily defeated by Samudragupta but that he ruled for a considerable time during which he had the opportunity to perform all those excellent deeds which ensured for him a place in heaven. But there is no evidence at all for Kācha having done all this. We cannot even regard it as a vain boast for, as remarked before, there is no precedence for such a claim and we are sure that this could suggest itself only to one who had such actual achievements to his credit. The second legend on the reverse *Sarvarājochchhettā* "the exterminator of all kings", is almost fatal to the existence of Kācha as a rival of Samudragupta. This grandiloquent epithet could have been assumed only after exterminating a good number of kings. On the contrary, we find from the Allahabad Pillar inscription that at the time of the accession of Samudragupta there were a large number of small states in northern India alone which had separate entities though they might have acknowledged the overlordship of Chandragupta I. Samudragupta, who for the first time forcibly uprooted as many as eight kings in Āryāvarta alone—let alone his conquests in the south and the west—had every justification in assuming such a title. Had Kācha done so before him, there would not have been any need nor scope for Samudragupta to repeat the performance. We must also keep in view the fact that no other Gupta emperor laid claim to such a grand achievement. These epithets on the coins of Kācha thus

lead to the obvious conclusion that he must be regarded identical with Samudragupta.

To strengthen his arguments V. K. Thakur has tried to find a reference to Kācha in the fourth verse of the Allahabad Pillar inscription, where it is said that the faces of those of equal birth became melancholy on Chandragupta I offering the throne to Samudragupta. He further opines that verses 5 and 6 of the Allahabad inscription contain a reference to Samudragupta's war with his rebel brother Kācha. Though verse 4 of the inscription, no doubt, refers to the disappointment of the other princes on the selection of Samudragupta to the throne, in no way does it point to any war of succession. It rather indicates that they resigned to their inevitable fate and accepted the verdict with heavy heart. As regards the statements contained in verses 5 and 6, word *kechit* of verse 5, who were tormented by the valour of Samudragupta, were obviously the hostile kings like Achyuta and Nāgasena, who were defeated but pardoned. Verse 6 speaks not of one but of a number of battles. These must have been fought against many kings mentioned later on in this very epigraph. They cannot by any means be connected with Kācha or another rival claimant for whose overthrow in one single battle would have been enough as the entire resources of the state were in the hands of Samudragupta.

The evidence of the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (AMMK) used by V.K. Thakur and some earlier scholars¹ to corroborate the statements of the Allahabad Pillar inscription is of no use, as this work itself is highly self-contradictory confused and therefore of little historical value as a source of Gupta history. It is really amazing that no scholar identifying Kācha with Bhasma of AMMK has paid the slightest attention to the character of Bhasma as depicted in the AMMK. Bhasma has been described as heartless, of low intelligence and wicked. The picture of Kācha that we get from the coins is entirely different. He is the performer of excellent deeds. Thus, it is simply impossible to identify Kācha with Bhasma, merely because of the similarity in the literal meaning. We must, therefore, reject the evidence of the AMMK and conclude that Samudragupta ascended the throne in accordance with the expressed wishes of his father in a perfectly peaceful manner and himself issued Kācha type of gold coins in the later period of his reign.

1. Jayaswal, K. P., *Imperial History of India*; Gupta, P. L., *Gupta Sāmarājya*, 246-47 and Goyal, S. R., *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, 194-95.

RELIGION AS REFLECTED ON THE POST-GUPTA COINS FROM BENGAL

PRANABANANDA JASH

The post-Gupta period was an age of transition, pregnant with important developments for the future, but individualistic expression in the field of numismatic art remained largely in abeyance. This want of originality is particularly marked in the limited coinage of the numerous petty kingdoms of eastern India which flourished and declined during the seventh-eighth centuries A. D. We are mainly concerned here with the reflection of these coin-devices of different petty principalities on the contemporary religious system of this region. While analysing and interpreting the coin-devices, it is an imperative task to be confined within the scope of some selected pieces of coins issued by Samāchāradeva, Śaśāṅka, Jaya (nāga) and some other coins from eastern Bengal.

Two gold coins of Samāchāradeva, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, have so far been found.¹ The description of the coins is as follows ;

Obverse ; King, nimbate, standing in *tribhaṅga* pose holding bow in left hand and offering oblations by the right hand. Necklace round the neck; to the right appears a standard planted on the ground and surmounted by a bull. Legend below the left arm in characters of the close of the sixth century A. D.—*Samā*, between the feet—*chā*, and above the bull of the standard—*ra*.

Reverse : Lakshmī, nimbate, seated facing on a full-blown lotus having a lotus bud with stalk in her left hand, and a fillet in the outstretched right hand; symbol on left. Legend—*Śrī Narendravinata*.²

1. J. Allan, *BMCGD*., p. 150; N. K. Bhattashali, *JASB, NS.*, 1923, pp. 54-56; R. D. Banerji, *ASIAR.*, 1913-14, pp. 259-60; A. S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, 1957, pp. 315 ff.

2. There are some discrepancies with regard to the reading of the legend : J. Allan (*BMCGD*), p. 159 reads it *Śrī Narendrāditya* and D. C. Sircar follows him. While A. S. Altekar (*op. cit.*, p. 327) takes it as *Śrī-narendravinita*.

Obverse : King, nimbate, facing with head to left, seated on couch in the *Rājajilā* pose, left knee raised upwards and right leg bent at the knee resting on the seat, with left hand raised and right hand on knee, having a female attendant (or queen ?) on either side. Legend—between the king's head and attendant on right—*Samā*, under the couch—*chā*, and beneath the feet of the female figure to the right—*ra*.

Reverse : Goddess Sarasvatī, nimbate, standing on a lotus bed in *tribhaṅga* pose. Her left hand rests on a lotus with bent stalk; by her right hand she draws up another lotus with long stalk in front of her face (as if to smell it). A lotus bud with a stalk under the right hand; below it, is a goose (*haṁsa*) with upstretched neck trying to snatch at a lotus leaf in its front by its open beak. Legend on the right—*Śrī-Narendravinata*.

A close scrutiny of these two gold coins of Samāchāradeva reveals the prevalence of two female divinities of the Brahmanical pantheon, viz., Lakshmī and Sarasvatī. Moreover, the depiction of bull-standard on the obverse in one of the coins of Samāchāradeva indicates his Śaivite leanings. Mention may be made in this connection that the Imperial Gupta kings of Magadha who were staunch followers of the Vaishṇava faith, issued coins bearing the image of Lakshmī on the reverse. The image on the reverse device of the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coinage is identified by some scholars with goddess Lakshmī.¹ The deity is also represented on the reverse side of the *Archer-type* coins of Candragupta II.² The continuity of the depiction of this image is to be found on the reverse side of the gold coinage of Kumārāgupta I,³ Skandagupta⁴ and his successors.⁵ There is

1. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 135
2. A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 143; The *Chakra-vikrama* type of gold coins of Chandragupta II also bears insignia of *Chakrapurusha*, the personification of Viṣṇu's weapon *Chakra* (discus). V. S. Agrawala, *JNSI*, XVI, 1954, pp. 97-101
3. Seated Lakshmī is represented on the *Archer type*, *Horseman type*, *Elephant-rider type* and *Apratigha type*. see Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 169 ff., 194-95, 207-10; P. Jash, *The Cult of Śrī Lakshmī in Eastern India as reflected on the coins*, 67th. Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India, Bangalore, 1980.
4. *Ibid.*, *Archer type* gold coin of Skandagupta bears seated Lakshmī (Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 242); the controversial *King and Lakshmī type* (*ibid.*, pp. 244-47) also depicts the deity. P. Jash, *op. cit.*
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 270-78

no denying the fact that Lakshmī and her consort Vishṇu occupied an esteemed position in the religious belief of the Gupta rulers as reflected in the numismatic as well as epigraphic materials. But the question is whether these coins which are generally considered as the 'imitations of Gupta coins'¹ or 'coins imitated from the Gupta types'² were imitated in toto, or in a modified form. If we look at the problem from the religious perspective, it may be explained that "the motif, as it typifies the Indian idea of prosperity, frequently appears on coins and sculptures of later date and is still used by the Hindus."³ Some-times on the reverse of the inscribed coins there is a common tendency to maintain early tradition of introducing a group of symbols which can variously be explained. But with regard to the 'elephant' it may be reasonably assumed that there it is theriomorphic representation of Lakshmī. In fact, the Abhisheka-Lakshmī, or Gaja-Lakshmī type of coins is characterised by 'elephant on either side sprinkling the divinity'. Those 'elephants' are sometimes found 'standing on pedestal'. The appearance of the 'elephant' itself on some of the coins without being associated with the goddess Lakshmī possibly represents the divinity of prosperity and victory.⁴ The influence of the Gupta coinage can not be ignored, especially from the point of view of its shape, size, weight, etc., but individualistic trait in the field of religious manifestation can not also be altogether brushed aside.

To strengthen our view, we may cite here the representation of goddess Sarasvatī who is totally absent from the entire series of the Gupta coinage. The deity is depicted with her *vāhana*, *haṁsa* (goose) on the reverse side of Samāchāradeva's coin.⁵ His persuasion in Śaivism is attested to by the bull-standard on his coin.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 317-37
9. A. N. Lahiri, *Early Indian Indigenous Coins*, edited by D. C. Sircar, 1970, p. 69.
10. J. N. Banerjea. *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111
11. B. Chatterjee, *Coins and Icons—A Study of Myths and Symbols in Indian Numismatic Art*, p. 250.
12. The identification of the goddess is a matter of controversy as the bird accompanying the goddess is not properly identified. Smith (*IMC.*, p. 122, pl. XVI. 13) and D. C. Sircar (*Studies in Indian Coins*, 1968, p. 382) identify it as peacock, while Allan (*op. cit.*, p. 150), J. N. Banerjea (*op. cit.*, p. 265), N. K. Bhattashali (*Num. Supple.*, 1923, p. 56) and Altekar (*op. cit.*, p. 328) take it as *haṁsa*, the vehicle of goddess Sarasvatī.

The prevalence of the worship of Śiva and Lakshmī was also in practice during the time of Śaśāṅka, the king of Bengal, in the first half of the seventh century A. D. In spite of his deep devotion to Śiva, Śaśāṅka also expressed his reverence to the goddess Lakshmī by depicting her image on the reverse side of, at least, two types of his gold coins.¹ But goddess Lakshmī is in some places depicted with some modifications on the reverse side. Following are the descriptions of some of the coin-types of Śaśāṅka :

Obverse : Śiva, nimbate, reclining to left on couchant bull to left; right hand resting on bull's hump and uplifted left hand holding uncertain object; orb of moon above bull's neck (indicating Śaśāṅka, moon). Legend in the right margin-Śrī Śa (śāṅka), below the bull, jaya from left to right.

Reverse : Lakshmī, nimbate, seated cross-legged on lotus, facing front; holding a lotus with stalk in her left hand which rests on her knee, while her right hand is outstretched but empty. Above, on either side of the deity, stands an elephant sprinkling water over her (Abhisheka of Lakshmī). Legend in the right margin-Śrī Śaśāṅkaḥ.

Obverse : Same as the earlier one.

Reverse : Lakshmī, as above, but without elephants by her side; holding a full-bloomed lotus with long stalk in extended right hand. Legend in the right margin Śrī Śaśāṅkaḥ.

That Śaśāṅka was an ardent follower of Śiva is testified by the representation of the god Śiva as well as his *vāhana* (vehicle), Nandi on the obverse of his coins. In course of a recent exploration in the deltaic regions of West Bengal P. K. Bhattacharya² has come across two silver coins of Śaśāṅka bearing the images of Śiva on the obverse and Gaja-Lakshmī on the reverse. In his coins, interesting to note, Gaja-Lakshmī is usually represented in a seated posture showing the variation of the types. In one of his epigraphic records, dated G. S. 300 (=619–20 A. D.),

1. J. Allan, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII. 14, pl. XXIV. 2; Altekar, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX-A. 8, pl. XIX-A. 10., P. Jash, *op. cit.*

2. P. K. Bhattacharya, *JRAS of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 2, 1979, pp. 153-55.

Śaśāṅka is described as a great devotee of Śiva, the blessed god of the three worlds.¹ His inclination to the worship of Śiva is known from the Rohtasgaḍh stone seal matrix which exhibits in its upper part a somewhat damaged representation of a bull, the *vāhana* of Śiva.²

The coinage of Jaya (nāga) Prakāṇḍayaśas, who was a *parama-bhāgavata* and follower of Vaishṇavism, bears the *Chakra*-standard on the obverse and goddess Lakshmī on the reverse.³ One of his gold coins may be described thus :

Obverse : King, nimbate, standing to left, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right; *Chakra* standard behind right. Legend under the left arm-Jaya.

Reverse : Goddess Lakshmī nimbate, seated on lotus, facing front, holding fillet in outstretched right hand and lotus in left; above, elephant on left sprinkling water on her head. Legend on right-Śrī Prakāṇḍayaśa.

Another variety of gold-plated copper coin of the same king is also found, but it does not bear any distinction with regard to the motifs as well as the legends.⁴ The description of the earthen mould of Jayanāga displays his affiliation with the Vaishṇava religion. The obverse side of this earthen mould may be described thus : "King, nimbate, standing to left, bow in left hand and perhaps arrow in the right hand. *Chakradhvaja* behind the right. No traces of the circular legend."⁵

Several other coins of this variety have been found from the Bogra district of North Bengal and from the Jessore, Faridpur, Dacca and Tippera districts of Bangladesh.⁶ Regarding the issuer of these coins scholars have expressed divergent views. A. S. Altekar suggests that these coins were issued by some local rulers of Eastern Bengal who ruled after the death of Śaśāṅka.⁷ In the opinion of N. K. Bhattashali, "it should

1. *EL.*, VI, p. 143.

2. *CII.*, III, p. 284.

3. Allan, *BMCGD.*, pl. XXIV. 6; Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

4. Allan, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV. 8; Altekar, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX-13, p. 332.

5. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX-A. 14, p. 333

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 333 ff.; N. K. Bhattashali, *JASB.*, *Num. Supple.*, 1923, pp. 57-64.

7. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

not be forgotten, however, that in the anarchy that ensued in Bengal towards the close of the seventh century A. D. and raged throughout the eighth century, every local potentate might have taken upon himself the issue of coins of this type until the type was debased beyond recognition and finally disappeared."¹ R. D. Banerji attributed the coins to the Later Guptas.² But D. C. Sircar, on the other hand, believes that they appear to have been issued by the private moneyers during the rule of the Khadgas and Devas of East Bengal, if not also of the Rātas.³

Whoever might have been responsible for issuing these coins, these coins were the product of seventh-eighth century A. D. and were in circulation in Eastern Bengal. The obverse type seems to be a copy of the usual Gupta Archer type,⁴ but the representation of two-armed, six-armed or eight-armed goddesses on the reverse is undoubtedly an innovation of the artist keeping in view the contemporary popular practice of the Mother Goddess worship.

In the light of the above discussion it may be said that a large number of Hindu divinities belonging to Vaishṇava, Saiva and Śākta sects are the subject matter of the coin devices; but it is interesting to note that neither the Buddha nor any of his insignia has been considered for representation as the coin-motif. Does it make any reflection on the history of contemporary religions in Eastern India. This may in a nutshell be explained (i) the lack of popular support from the common milieu, (ii) Buddhism was deemed to be an insignificant as well as unimpressive factor in the field of religious life of this region.⁵

1. N. K. Bhattashali, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64.

2. *ASIAR.*, 1913-14, p. 258

3. *JAIH.*, IV, p. 190

4. J. Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. cvi-cvii

5. R. C. Mitra, *Decline of Buddhism in India*, 1981. pp. 1 ff

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE SO-CALLED JAINA COINS

MARUTI NANDAN PRASAD TIWARI & CHANDRA DEO SINGH

It would be appropriate at the outset to mention that in the present paper, we propose to re-examine the coins, called by Nemichandra Shastri as Jaina in his article entitled, '*Jaina Sikke*'.¹ In our humble endeavour, we would re-examine the attribution of these coins as discussed by Shastri, in a historical perspective. The coins are, of course, valuable source for writing the history, specially political, economic, and at times religious and social as well. But while making the use of coins for writing on any aspects of history, we should work with a sense of caution keeping in mind the limitations of coins as source material, and should never be over enthusiastic in arriving at certain conclusions. This point has rightly and explicitly been explained by A. K. Nerain.² We feel that very often ambitious conclusions have been drawn by the numismatists without corroborating numismatic with other contemporary archaeological and literary sources, as has been the case with Nemichandra Shastri's article under discussions.

After going through the entire paper by Shastri very carefully, we are of the opinion that he has drawn conclusions as to the religious affiliation of symbols and animal figures with religious bias, and is in gross failure to give any proper explanation or supplementary evidences for supporting his views. While suggesting religious affiliation of different symbols and animal figures to Jainism, the author has not taken the fact

1. Shastri, Nemichandra, '*Jaina Sikke*', *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskar* (Arrah), Vol. XVII, No. 2, Dec. 1950, pp. 110-22. The same article was also published in *Numismatic Chaonicle*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, pp. 116-26.
2. Narain, A. K., '*Numismatists and Historical Writing*', *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (Ed. C. H. Philips), London, 1967, p. 95 : He writes—"...a small coin has hardly any space for even two complete sentences—scarcely enough in which to detect any coherent idea of history on the part of the king who issued it. Even if we discover some such ideas they are disjointed and they give no knowledge which is not known from other sources. They either confirm or exemplify them. They rarely correct them and never do so to any great extent.... they have not succeeded in presenting more than a skeletal outline, to which even a few sentences in literary sources or inscriptions have proved sufficient to bring flesh and blood."

into account that all the symbols and animal figures discussed by him were of non-sectarian nature and were popular with almost all the principal sects, namely the Brahmana, Buddhist and the Jaina. Majority of the symbols were borrowed by all the sects from a common heritage, as has rightly been pointed out by V. S. Agrawala.¹ U. P. Shah also opines that the origin of a number of symbols is often shrouded in mystery. The real age of the original conception behind *Svastika*, *Nandyāvarta* or the pair of fish (*mīna-yugala*) ect. is often unknown.² V. S. Agrawala further writes that from among a number of auspicious symbols, a list of eight symbols, known as *ashtamaṅgalamālā* or *ashtamaṅgalas*, was standardized sometime in the first century A. D.³ The list was adopted and enunciated in Buddhist, Jaina and Brāhmanical works of art. The earliest rendering of *ashtamaṅgala* in art is found on the Jaina *Āyāgapatṭas*, known from Kaṅkālī Tīlā, Mathurā and datable to Śuṅga-Kuṣaṇa period.⁴ The Jaina lists of *ashtamaṅgalas* include *svastika*, *śrīvatsa*, *nandyāvarta*, *vardhamānka* (powder-box), *bhadrāsana* (throne), *kalaśa* (full-vase), *darpaṇa* and *matsya* (or *matsya-yugma*).⁵

We would now take up a few symbols to elucidate our point. The *dharmachakra* has been adopted in both the Buddhist and Jaina sects, and

1. Agrawala, V. S., *Bhāratīya Kalā*, Varanasi, pp. 394-96 : Prof. Agrawala has given the detailed list of such auspicious symbols and motifs which were in the form of animals, birds, semi-gods, vegetation and inanimate objects, namely, *stūpa*, *kalaśa*, *vimāna*, *chāmara*, *darpaṇa*, *śrīvatsa*, *svastika*, *tri-ratna* and *chakra* or *dharmachakra*.
2. Shah, U. P., 'Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism', *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture* (Ed. U. P. Shah and M. A. Dhaky). Ahmedabad, 1975, p. 49.
3. Agrawala, V. S., *op. cit.* p. 395.
4. The *Āyāgapatṭa*, set up by Śīhanādika and assignable to c. 1st century A. D. was discovered from Kaṅkālī Tīlā, Mathura, and is now in the State Museum, Lucknow (J 249). It shows *ashtamaṅgalas* arranged in two panels. The uppermost panel (from right to left) shows a pair of fish, a heavenly car, *śrīvatsa* and a powder-box (*vardhamānaka*); while the lowermost panel *tri-ratna* (perhaps the same as *tilaka-ratna* of some texts), a full-blown lotus, *Indra-Yashti* according to V. S. Agrawala (or perhaps the *sthāpanā* or an *āsana* ?) and a *maṅgala-kalaśa* or '*pūrṇa-kumbha*'). It may, however, be noted here that the set of eight auspicious symbols on the present *Āyāgapatṭa* somewhat differs from the Jaina list of *ashtamaṅgalas*, as has been the case with other *Āyāgapatṭas* also. See, Shah, U. P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, Varanasi 1955, p. 79-80; Shah, U. P., 'Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism', p. 68.
5. Shah, U. P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 109-10.

is shown on the thrones of the images of Buddha and the Jinas. The same symbol has been associated with Vishṇu, a principal deity of Brāhmaṇa pantheon, in the form of a *chakra* (disc). Likewise, the *svastika*, *śrīvatsa*, *kalaśa*, lotus, and *stūpa* like symbols were assimilated in almost all the major religious sects. Besides, the animals like bull, elephant, horse and lion were also common with all the sects in some or the other way.¹

As regards the article by Shastri, it may be noted that the author has not published the photographs of the coins, which has further made our work difficult in ascertaining any religious meaning of the symbols. While discussing the symbols and motifs in regard to a particular religion, we should at least take the following three points into consideration. First, we should try to understand the proper context of the symbols and figures in regard to the individual coin and also the entire group in historical perspective. Second, we should ascertain in clear terms the religious leaning or policy of the ruler or the person or the agency issuing the coins. Third, we should also try to corroborate the numismatic evidence with other contemporary sources.

So far the only coins, which could be said to have Jaina symbols with a certain degree of certainty, are known from South India and belong to the early Pāṇḍya period.² These coins bear some of the symbols of *aśṭamaṅgala* group which were popular with the Jainas. The Pāṇḍyan coins bear *nandipada*, *kumbha*, *dharmachakra*, *śrīvatsa*, *darpaṇa*, *chakra*, *svastika*, *matsya*, tree in railing and *trichhatra* like symbols, the last being associated with the Jinas as one of the *prātihāryas*. Regarding Pāṇḍyan coins R. Vanaja observes that these copper coins were perhaps the only examples

1. These animals (bull, horse, elephant, lion) were conceived in Brahmana pantheon as the *vāhanas* respectively of Śiva, Sūrya, Indra and Durgā or Śakti. The same set of animals were associated with Buddha to suggest four principal incidents in his life; and their earliest rendering is noticed on the Aśoka's Sārnātha lion-capital (3rd century B. C.). The bull, elephant and lion also find mention in the list of the auspicious dreams seen by the respective *mothers* of the 24 Jinas. However, in Gupta and subsequent periods these animals were also conceived as the cognizances of Rishabhānātha, Sambhavanātha, Ajitanātha and Mahāvīra Jina.
2. Vanaja, R., 'Symbols on South Indian Coins', *Jaina Art and Architecture*, (Ed. A Ghosh) Vol. III, New Delhi, 1975 pp. 456-62; Since there is no legend on these coins, but only symbols, the possibility of their being the issues of mercantile communities with Jaina learning cannot be ruled out (p. 456).

of coins with *ashtamaṅgala* symbols, depicted in a row in much the same manner as was found on the lintel of the Bāwā-Pyārā Maṭh Jaina caves (No. K) at Junāgaḍhi.¹ The significance of these symbols is mentioned in the *Āchārādinakara* of Vardhamāna Sūri (1412 A. D.).

Now we proceed to examine the attribution of the coins discussed by Shastri. According to him, the copper coins from Ahichhatra bearing long-stalked lotus and *kalāṣa* are Jaina coins.² But this is not acceptable because mere the lotus and *kalāṣa* do not suggest any sectarian meaning. Shastri further remarks that there were many Jaina rulers in ancient India who issued coins with Jaina symbols.³ But he fails to quote any specific instance. Shastri has also referred to the coins from Lydia. However, on one of the coins from Lydia, he has observed the bull and lion figures and has taken these figures to represent the cognizances respectively of Rishabhanātha and Mahāvīra Jinas irrelevantly.⁴ The author has not even taken note of the fact that the cognizances of the Jinas were not evolved prior to the Gupta period. The earliest known Jina images exhibiting the cognizances of the Jinas are datable to the Gupta period. These images represent Neminātha and Mahāvīra along with their 'conch' and 'lion' emblems.⁵ Besides, the rendering of such animals on coins was popular from the time of the punch-marked and tribal coins of 3rd-2nd century B. C. or even earlier.⁶

The author was also tempted to make a statement for the reason best known to him, that many of the Indo-Greek rulers were under the influence of Jainism.⁷ He has also referred to some of the Indo-Greek

1. *Ibid*, pp. 458-60 : The author also refers to the gold coins of Hoyasala king Bṛh̥giga (12th cent. A. D.) showing *Yakshī* Ambikā riding a lion. It is well-known that before his conversion to Vaisṇavism Bṛh̥giga was a fervent Jaina.
2. Shastri, Nemichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
3. *Ibid*, p. 111.
4. *Ibid*, p. 111-12.
5. For details consult, Chanda, R. P., 'Jaina Remains at Rājgir', *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1925-26*, pp. 125-26, pt. 56, fig. 6, Tiwari, M. N. P., 'An Unpublished Jina Image in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi', *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. XIII, No. 1-2, pp. 373-75.
6. For details see, Allan, John, *Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India*, Oxford, 1967 (Reprint), pp. 11, 17, ff. 122-25, 140-49, 273-74.
7. Shastri, Nemichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

copper coins bearing the figures of bull, elephant and horse like animals, which, according to Shastri, are meant for representing the emblems of the Jinas, namely, Rishabhanātha, Ajitanātha and Śmṛhavanātha.¹ But his observation is not acceptable for the simple reasons specified above.

The author has worked with the same bias while dealing with some of the local-tribal coins of 2nd-1st century B. C. and the early centuries of Christian era. On some of the Ujjayini copper coins he has noticed the figures of bull and *sumeru* mountain, and has associated these with Jainism,² which is inexplicable for want of supplementary evidence. His *sumeru* mountain should be nothing but the hill, representation of which was popular from very early times, and could be seen even on the punch-marked coins.³

Shastri has discussed some of the Audumbara coins bearing elephant, tree in railing, and a snake on the obverse; and three-storeyed building, *svastika* and *dharmachakra* atop the pillar on reverse. The author has attributed *elephant*, *snake*, *svastika* and *dharmachakra* to Jainism, the former two being meant for the cognizances of the Jinas, namely Ajitanātha and Pārśvanātha.⁴ The author has not given any plausible justification for his assumption. It may be recalled again that by the time of the issue of these coins, i. e. c. 2nd-1st cent. B. C., the cognizances of the Jinas were not known. While, on the otherhand, the names of the Audumbara rulers, occurring on the coins,⁵ suggest Śaivite character of the coins.⁶ The same erroneous meaning has been suggested by Shastri while treating of

17. *Ibid*, p. 112-13.

18. *Ibid*, p. 113.

19. See, Allan, John, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-25.

20. Shastri, Nemichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 113-14.

21. Śivadāsa, Māhādeva, Rudradāsa etc.

22. See, Allan, John, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-25; Banerji, R. D., 'New Type of Audumbara Coinage', *Journal and Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series), Vol. X, No. 6, 1914, Numismatic Supplement No. XXIII, pp. 247-50. However, R. D. Banerji has taken *svastika*, *dharmachakra*, tree in railing and snake to be Buddhist symbols. It would be relevant to note here, in passing, that tree and serpent worship was popular with the Buddhists from very early times and they appear on Buddhist *stūpa* at Sāñchī. For details consult, Fergusson, James, *Tree and Serpent Worship at Sāñcht and Amrāvati*, Varanasi, 1971 (Reprint).

the Malava, Yaudheya, and Āndhra-Sātavāhana coins, which bear the mountain, tree in railing, bull, sun, elephant and *svastika* like symbols.¹

While discussing the coins from South India, he has attributed some of the Pallava coins, bearing lion's figure, to Jaina religion² without giving any proper explanation. The lotus on Kadamba coins, in Shastri's opinion, is a Jaina symbol and represents the identifying mark of Jina Padmaprabha.³ It is needless to repeat that without any corroborative evidence lotus can have hardly any sectarian connotation. The same liberty has been taken by Shastri while referring to the coins of Kākatiya's of Waraṅgal, and some other South Indian dynasties.⁴ On the strength of only bull and lion figures, he has taken these coins to be Jain coins in as much as, to him, bull and lion figures are meant for representing the cognizances respectively of Rishabhanātha and Mahāvira.

The author has also referred to the coins of Kumārapāla Chaulukya (1144-1174 A. D.) of Gujarat who was undoubtedly a Jaina ruler.⁵ His coins show lion and elephant figures. Although Kumārapāla Chaulukya was a Jaina by faith, yet the lion and elephant figures do not suggest any direct bearing upon Jaina religion. We must not forget that the rendering of these animal figures are very much in the continuity of practice of representing such animals on coins, and hence it would not be proper to assign any religious meaning to these figures. Besides, Shastri himself mentions that the coins of another Chaulukya ruler Ajayapāla, who happened to be a staunch follower of Brahmanical religion, also bear the same animal figures. In the circumstance, how are we going to explain the same animal figures in context of Brahmanical religion? The *Dravyaparīkshā* of Ṭhakkura Pherū, composed in *Sarīvat* 1375 (=1318 A. D.), while dealing with the coins of Kumārapāla and other Chaulukya rulers, also do not speak of any such name for the coins which could suggest any Jaina leaning.⁶

1. Shastri, Nemichandra, *Ibid.*, pp. 115-19.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 119-20.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 121-22.

6. Consult *Dyavyaparīkshā aur Dhātūpatti* of Ṭhakkura Pherū (Ed. Bhavarlal Nahta), Vāishali. 1976, pp. 33-35, *gāthā* 82-93. We may note here that some of the coins are known by the names, such as, Bhīmapurī, Arjunapurī, Varāha, Vināyakāchandī, Vāṇa and mudrās.

1981]

Before concluding, we would like to point out that we are of firm opinion that none of the coins discussed by Shastri appears to have any Jaina affiliation. These coins bear only such symbols which were common with almost all the sects of India since very early times. However, there is no coin which shows figure of a Jina, which should have been the case, had the issuer intended to show Jaina influence. We may note here that the rendering of Buddhist and Brahmanical deities on coins was very much in vogue from the 1st century B. C. onwards. The coins of Ujjayinī, Yaudheyas, Indo-Greeks, Kushāṇas, Guptas and many others bear the figures of the deities.¹ Surprisingly enough, the author has not taken note of the Kushāṇa and Gupta coins. It is also surprising that Kushāṇa and Gupta coins bear no Jaina influence while Jainism was well received during Kushāṇa and Gupta period. However, none of the coins, discussed in Shastri's paper, bears *śrīvatsa*, or *nandyāvarta* symbol or set of *aṣṭamaṅgala* symbols or Jaina figure or even any inscription speaking of the Jaina impact or giving any Jaina term or epithet,² and therefore, we cannot, rather should not, call any of the coins as Jaina. To our knowledge, Jainism is the only religion among the three prominent religions of India, which has not properly been represented on Indian coinage.

1. For details, see, Cribba, Joseph, Kanishka's Buddha, coins—the official Iconography of Śākyamuni and Maitreya', *Jour. of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, Vol. III, No. 2, 1980, pp. 79-88; Banerjea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, Ch. IV, pp. 108-57.
2. Jina, Jainas, Revala-Jñāna, Kevalī, Paramjaina, Vitārāga, Praśā utarāga, Parmārhat, etc.

'FOR PLEASURE AND PROFIT

COLLECT INDIAN COINS'

- (a) Kushana coins like Kanishka, Huvishka. Vasudeva etc.,
- (b) Gupta coins of Samudragupta, Chandragupta, Kumara-gupta, etc.,
- (c) Sultan of Delhi coins and of various Mughal rulers coins Also Jehangir's Zodiacal coins in silver.
- (d) Oudh coins of 5 types complete set, Indian States, British India mohurs, G. V. King 15 Rupee also silver mint mistake rupees i. e. both side head etc.

All above coins are in Fine Condition and are guaranteed genuine ones.

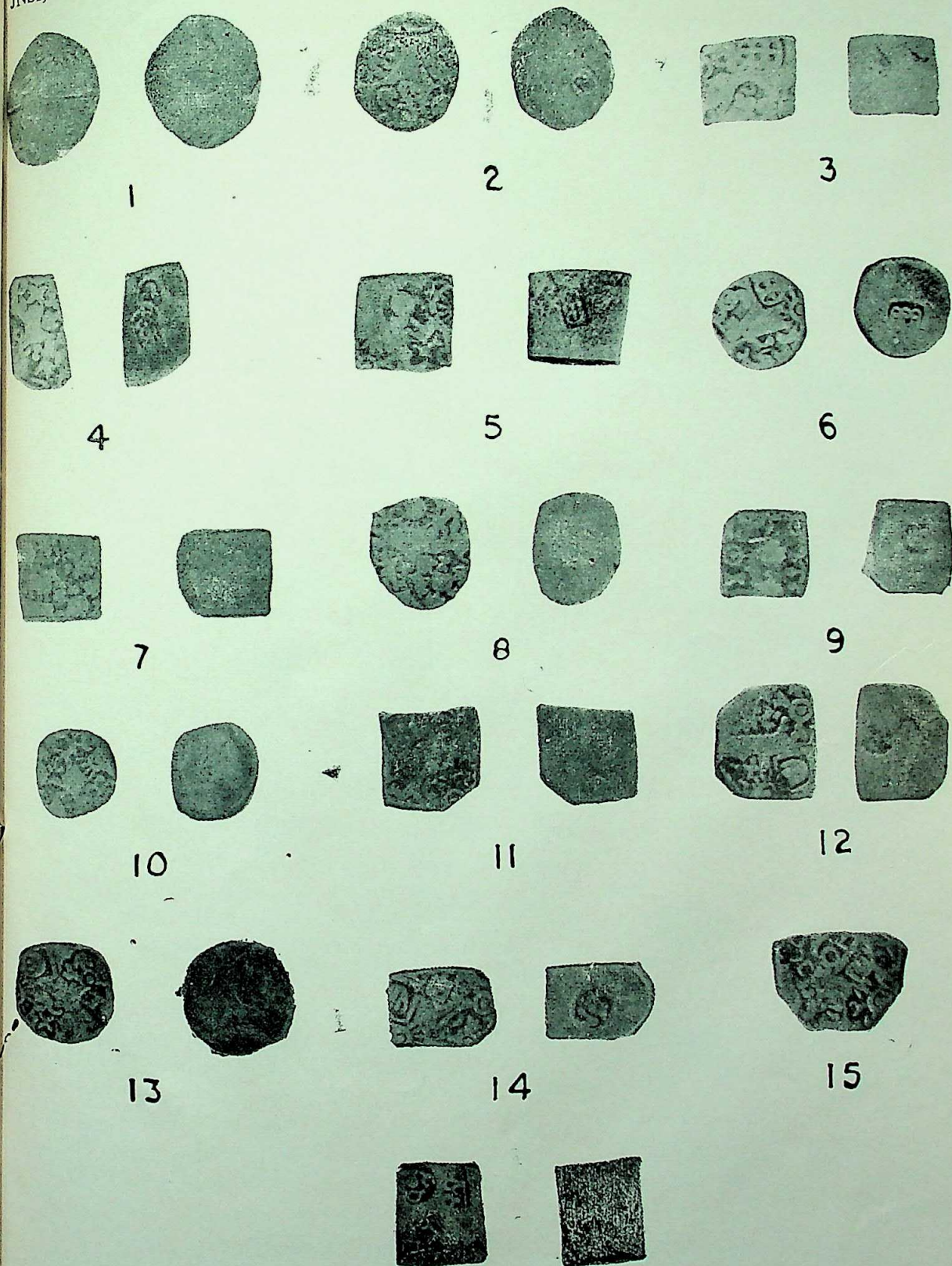
For Details Please Contact :

K. C. JARIA,
317/61 Dahla Kuwon,
P. O. Chowk, Lucknow 226 003 (India)

Life Member NSI
also Member ONS etc.,



























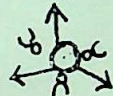




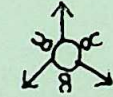




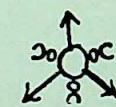









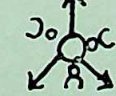
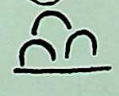








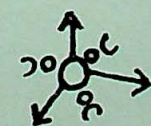

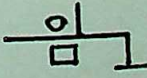


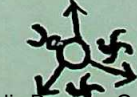



JNSI, XLIII

Plate I



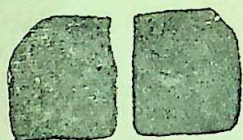
Classification

Obverse Symbols

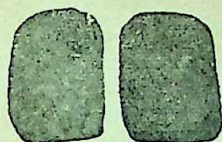
I.I.a					
II.I.a					
III.I.a					
III.I.b					
III.I.c					
IV.I.a					
IV.I.b					
IV.I.c					
IV.I.d					
IV.II.a					
IV.II.b					
IV.III.a					
V.I.b					

JNSI, XLIII

Plate III



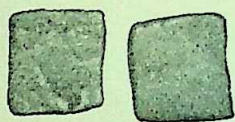
1



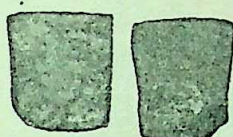
2



3



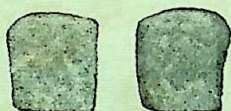
4



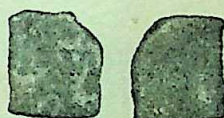
5



6



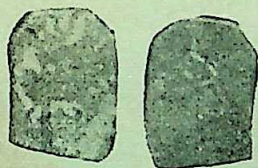
7



8



9



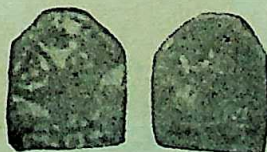
10



11



12



13

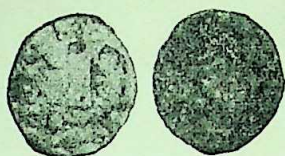


14

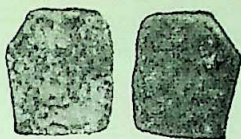


NSI, XLIII

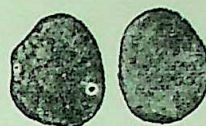
Plate IV



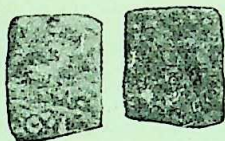
1



2



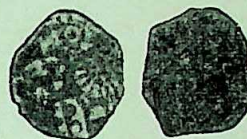
3



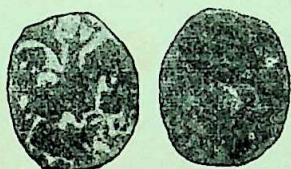
4



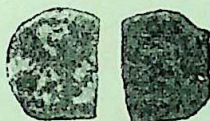
5



6



7



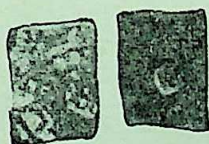
8



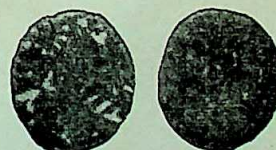
9



10



11



12



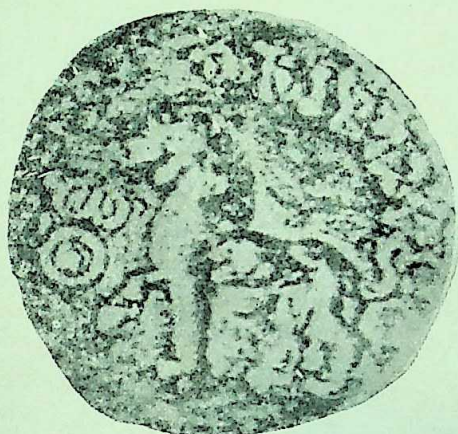
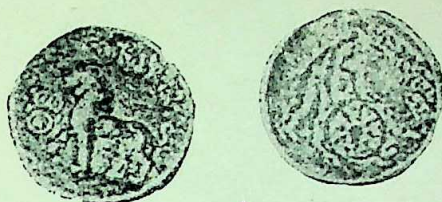
13



14



JNSI. XLIII



1A



1b



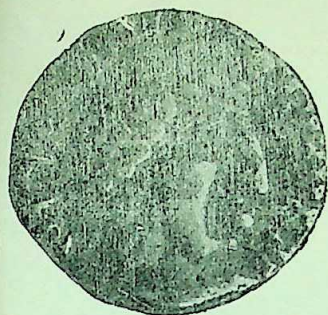
2



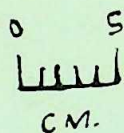
3



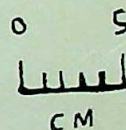
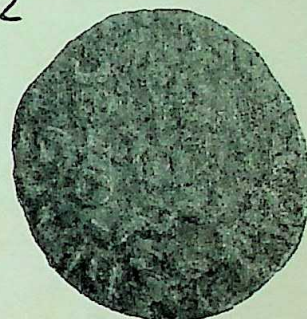
JNSI, XLIII



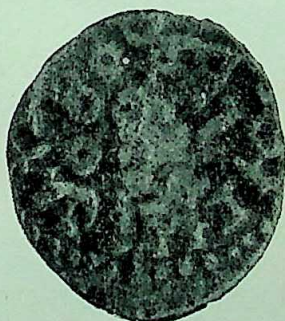
1



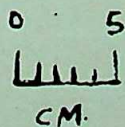
2



3

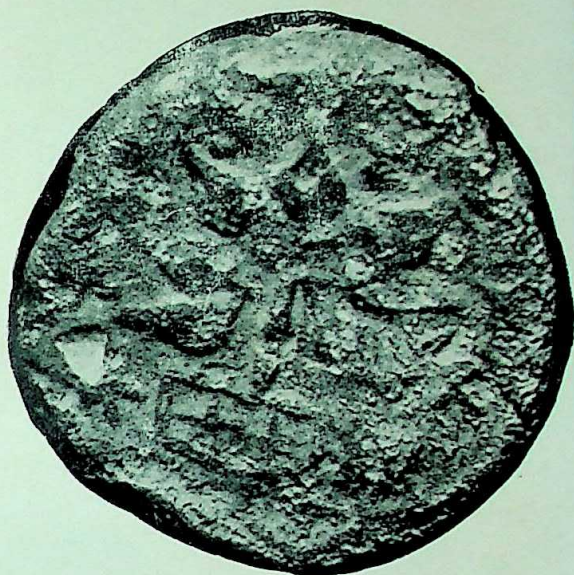


4

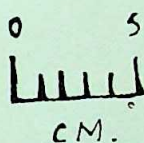


Portrait coins of Sātavāhana kings

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



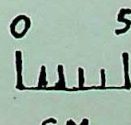
1



2



3



JNSI, XLIII



1



CM

0 5
mm



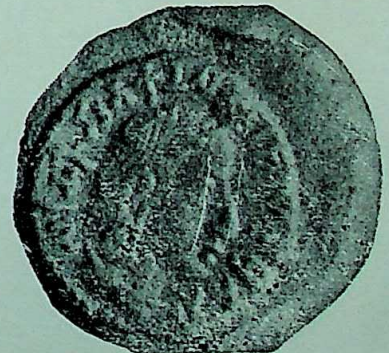
2



3



4



5

110117

21731518

~~11917~~
110117

Compiled
1999-2003

